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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# THE CAREER AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF E. A. PARTRIDGE

BY

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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submitted by Kenneth W. Tingley

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of History

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date 27 April, 1981

ABSTRACT

An attempt has been made to describe in some detail the unknown first half of E. A. Partridge's life. The influence of his school teaching career has been underestimated as a factor in his later views on the primary importance of education to the cause of agrarian protest and organization. Partridge's career illustrates the Lipset thesis that ideological innovators were consistently replaced by conservative bureaucratic administrators in Saskatchewan's agrarian organizations. This process occurred within the context of Fowke's thesis that the west developed within a colonial economic system. Repeated successes of the federal and provincial Liberal parties in co-opting agrarian policies and leaders, and the liaison they formed with farmers' organizations such as the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, reinforce the tendencies described by both theories.

Partridge's attempts to establish nonpartisan organizations incorporating structural safeguards against this process of co-option by federal parties, such as his No-Party League, failed due to reversals for the Partridge Plan, as well as the strength of what Evelyn Eager terms "the conservatism of the Saskatchewan electorate." The collapse of the Partridge Plan for government-owned line and terminal elevators in 1910 and 1911 signalled the end of Partridge's political effectiveness. His success with "the siege of Ottawa" ironically caused the destruction of his "farmers' platform," with the defeat of

the Laurier administration. Successive failures in establishing broadly-based co-operative marketing agencies and class-based political movements led Partridge to embrace the concept of a separate western Canadian nation free of colonial political and economic spheres of influence. Sustained instances of personal tragedy, and concerted resistance by established beneficiaries of the status quo, account for Partridge's erratic career more than the usually accepted theory that he was intrinsically unsuited to the role of administrator.

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Chapter One:

## THE EARLIEST YEARS 1861-1883

When Edward Alexander Partridge was born in Canada West on 5 November 1861 his family had been settled in the area for three generations. The first of his forebears to arrive in British North America was his great-grandfather, John Partridge (1767-1828), who had originally emigrated to Albany, New York, in about 1807.[1] In 1819 John Partridge and his brother William moved west into the raw wilderness region sixty miles north of York, after having settled briefly in that town.[2] With him he brought his wife Charlotte Oliver (1765-1825) and five of his six children, "all lately arrived in this Province to settle except one but who will shortly follow."[3] This was his eldest married son, Charles Partridge.

Charles Partridge (1789-1880), E. A. Partridge's grandfather, had been born in Lincolnshire, England, near the small town of Riseholme, in 1798,[4] and had emigrated to America with the rest of his family at the age of nine. There he grew up on various family farms, becoming accustomed to the rigorous life of frontier farming. He married Ann Luck and began to raise a family. Ann was a sister of Edward Luck, another emigrant from the Albany area, who later settled on the lot adjacent to the Partridge farm and taught at Crownhill school.[5] In 1819 Charles accompanied his family to Upper Canada, had a land petition drawn up by a notary public in York, and returned to Albany,

bringing his family north to settle near his father, his uncle William, his brothers William and Warton, and his sisters Caroline and Jamima, who remained on John Partridge's farm.

Charles Partridge's land petition, submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, notified the authorities that "Your Petitioner is desirous to become an actual Settler in this Province and has means to cultivate Land." It therefore "humbly prays Your Excellency will be pleased to grant him such portion of the waste Lands of the Crown" as Governor Maitland should see fit.[6]

One reason for this insistence upon his desire to become "an actual settler" was simply that land speculation, based upon the free grant of lands to United Empire Loyalists between 1783 and 1818, was becoming increasingly common. In 1818 the government added the provision that, "no grant of land would issue in the future to persons of any description until satisfactory certificate be filed that a habitable house is erected on some part of the land granted, and a sufficient clearing thereon under fence in the proportion of five acres per 100."[7] As this was only intermittently enforced, it became a widespread source of grievance among the legitimate settlers before the 1837 rebellion.[8] Grants of land to the Partridge family appear to have been unusual in that most free grants were made to United Empire Loyalists, militiamen from the War of 1812 and retired British Army officers. Almost all other settlers in this area purchased their land.[9]

The Partridges all settled around what was soon to become the

town of White's Corners. This settlement was named for Peter White, who arrived in the area somewhat later, and who established the first Wesleyan Methodist Church at the crossroads of the old Penetang Road in 1825.[10] This road had been built north through the heavily forested country west of Lake Simcoe to connect York with Penetanguishene on Georgian Bay. It had originally been built as a defense road following the War of 1812, but began to be sparsely settled by about 1820, after the military post had been removed in 1818.[11] Thus the Partridges were among the very first who attempted to farm in this area they had chosen to settle. The original twenty-five families from the northern counties of England were followed in 1834 by Scots from Argyleshire, in 1828 by Irish Catholic families moving to Vespra Township, and by twenty Negro families moving to Oro Township, giving the area a relatively diverse ethnic and religious character.[12]

John and William Partridge settled in the Crown Hill district of Vespra Township.[13] From this time onward the family would continue to acquire land on either side of the Penetang Road, straddling the boundary between Oro and Vespra Townships. This land would be divided and re-divided among sons and daughters, and Partridge was to become one of the most common names in the area. By 1871 four of John's and William's descendants owned substantial lands in Oro Township[14] and nine owned over six hundred acres in Vespra Township.[15] Crown Hill and White's Corners became the centres of their commercial and civic activities, and St. James Anglican Church in Crown Hill, and White's Corners' Methodist Church, became the centres of their consistent and

energetic religious activities. Most of the Partridges were staunch Wesleyan Methodist, however, and E. A. Partridge was born into a Methodist family.[16]

Charles Partridge was especially influential in the organization of local religious activities. In 1855 he was one of a committee of five appointed to supervise the building of a larger Wesleyan Church at White's Corners.[17] Local historians note the Partridges' involvement. "During the 1850's and '60's services were often held outdoors in the Partridge grove, probably Lot 17. This was an all day affair with two services and two meals. These developed into field services. Benches made from planks resting on logs were used for seating purposes and the minister stood on a wagon."[18]

Charles Partridge took up land in 1820 opposite his father's and uncle's lands,[19] and completed his settlement duties in September, 1724.[20] This "lot" of two hundred acres lying along the Penetang Road was to remain in the family, sections of it being passed on to E. A. Partridge's father, John Thomas. It was on this farm that Edward Partridge was born. By 1871 "Squire Charles" retained only a corner of this lot for his own house, and John Thomas, now thirty-five and supporting a family numbering nearly a dozen, owned most of the land.[21] In 1880, when E. A. Partridge was nineteen, the old squire died and was buried on his own land.[22]

Charles Partridge had raised a large family of seven daughters and six sons on his farm. John Thomas was his eighth child. John's older brother Edward was likely E. A. Partridge's namesake.

John Thomas was born in 1836, in his father's house,[23] as were his children. When grown he was granted some of the dwindling family lands. He married Martha Chappell, who bore him three children, Henry Oscar, Albert, and Edward Alexander. Martha Partridge died in childbirth in 1861, apparently while Edward was being born.[24] She was buried in Dalston. John Thomas soon remarried, however. His second wife was Harriett Chappell, Martha's sister. They had twelve more children, all of whom eventually moved west and settled near Spring Coulee and Sintaluta in Assiniboia. Edward's younger half-brothers and half-sisters were Lydia, Hattie, Annie, Thomas, Ralph, Ina, Mattie, Lula, John, Fred, Wilfred and Newton.

By the time of Charles Partridge's death many of the younger members of the family were beginning to find it difficult to obtain much land locally, and the assessment records indicate that many of these possessed much less land than their fathers had.[25] This land was frequently scattered in small sections among various lots and presumably would have been more difficult to work as a result. It may well be that it was these factors which prompted several of the older sons of John Thomas to move farther west into the North-West Territories in 1883. John Thomas' brother opened a small sawmill on his lot in the 1880's to supplement the income from his farm. John Thomas himself was to follow his sons west however, and spend his remaining years in Assiniboia as the patriarch of the western branch of the family. He died in Sintaluta in 1912.

Charles Partridge was long associated with the Oro Branch

Agricultural Society, which met regularly at Rix's Tavern on the Penetang Road.[25] This society addressed itself to such problems as the drastic soil depletion in Simcoe County and used the local press to promote diversification of crops, recommending the production not only of wheat, but also wool and flax "to clothe the public, for all must admit that the price of the farmers' produce is invariably governed by the quantity on hand, much more than the quality of the article offered . . . "[26] The members of the society were thus engaged in the kind of basic education of the farmers that would later mark the early period of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association and the Grain Growers' Grain Company. The combination of incipiently political pronouncements and practical agricultural advice found in the Oro Branch Society closely resembles that found in these organizations; the similarity of concerns and rhetoric is obvious, and the source of Partridge's later affiliation with all such organizations is neither as unexplained nor as surprising as some suggest.[27] It was not a sudden, belated awakening to previously unfamiliar interests.

In 1865 the Oro Branch Agricultural Society proclaimed that

> At present every article of clothing we wear is imported, and at a larger price than farmers can afford to pay for it, and at the same time the wool in the country is carried, none of us knows where, to be manufactured! What we need is mills to manufacture the raw material at home . . .[28]

By the 1880's the Society, under the new Farmers' and Peoples' Councils, had become more militant and was promoting ends strikingly similar to those for which E. A. Partridge would fight several years later in

Assiniboia. The Oro Council was petitioned to erect weigh scales at the Edgar Post Office and the Hawkstone Railway Station for weighing grain, hay, and other agricultural produce. This was

> . . . to induce other Councils to establish The Queens' public weight scales at larger purchasing places of our own country, and thereby do away with many of the abuses arising from the device of buyers using their own scales and hired weighers, so unlike the practical ways acted on in other market places of older countries.[29]

The correspondent to the Barrie newspaper who penned the above words for the local society concluded that "this much needed system of neutral weighing" would cause many more people to work and benefit from the sale of farm produce, "which being the gold of the country . . ., the breaking up of the monopoly ways of present buyers must bring about peace and plenty to numerous other families, having at least equal rights to the lawful inheritance provided by providence in this Canada of ours."[30]

The idea of substantial government intervention or government ownership of such facilities, the major concept behind the Partridge Plan of later years, was not entirely germinal with Partridge then. Rather, such concerns seem to reach back directly to these earlier years when his family associated closely with groups who espoused such goals. His conversion to Ruskinian socialistic ideals and his reading of the Fabian writers all followed what seems to have been his early awareness of the problems faced by his family and neighboring farmers, and seem in specific, personal terms. Thus Partridge's eclectic selection of ideas in later years to suit his immediate concerns seems to have been built upon the foundation of an emotional commitment made earlier, and deriving from the circumstances and associations in

Ontario as a young man.

John Thomas Partridge was a director of the Oro Agricultural Society in 1873 and 1874, when Edward was in his early teens, and he would undoubtedly have been aware of the organization and agitations which concerned the Society.[31] One writer mentions Partridge's early association with the Patrons of Industry in Assiniboia,[32] and such connections were probably based upon interests aroused by his early association with the farmers' movements through his grandfather and father, representing a continuity of interest for him.

It would seem appropriate to conclude this introduction to E. A. Partridge's family background with the observation that several Partridges had been strong supporters of William Lyon Mackenzie's rebellious demands in 1837. As mentioned they were predominantly Wesleyan Methodist, and as farmers there was likely increasing resentment directed towards York, but while Edward's uncle, William Henry Partridge, his father's older brother, was closely associated with "the Reformers" during the Confederation period,[33] the Partridges were almost unanimously loyal during the rebellion. Although an Abraham Partridge from Simcoe County was "a prisoner taken in arms against U.C." in 1838,[34] John Partridge served as a private under Captain E. Lally, in the 1st Regiment 7th Company of Simcoe Militia, during December 1837.[35] There was thus a Partridge among the sixty rebels brought to York in chains by the Simcoe Militia, and a Partridge who had participated in his apprehension.

Of course, the most important familial influence would have

remained closer at hand in the person of his father. As indicated, little is now known about John Thomas Partridge. From the time he grew to maturity and received twenty-five acres in the north-east corner of his father's land in 1819, he remained a full-time farmer. He later received by grant from his father one hundred acres in the south half of the adjoining lot.[36] From this time onward John Thomas' time would have been increasingly taken by his farming activities. However, as noted, he was involved in local farmers' agitations, and it is known that he was one of the first trustees of School Section 3 Dalston (previously White's Corners),[37] and must therefore have shown some interest in education. Edward, and all John Thomas' other sons, finished their schooling and were well educated by the standards then prevalent in farming communities. John Thomas' active participation in the local agricultural society as a director would certainly have influenced young Edward as well as his brothers. All were to become extremely active in their Assiniboian equivalents at Sintaluta. Beyond providing a guiding influence in these organizations, E. A. Partridge was a faithful member of the Sintaluta Agricultural Society from 1903 until 1909,[38] when his wider interests drew him away.

These, with his strong Methodist upbringing, were the three most important legacies of his father. In 1883 when Edward and his brothers Henry and Albert moved west they were to prove immediately influential in determining the course in which he directed his life.

## Chapter Two:

## THE HOMESTEADER-TEACHER 1883-1900

This chapter is divided into four major sections. The first briefly outlines E. A. Partridge's first efforts at homesteading in the North-West Territories from 1883 to 1885. The second details more fully his experiences with the Yorkton Company Active Militia from April to June 1885. The third argues that the five years from 1885 to 1889 when Partridge taught virtually full-time are more significant than is generally acknowledged to an understanding of directions his attitudes took during these early years. The final section deals in some detail with his first entry into politics during the territorial by-elections of 1 December, 1896, and draws parallels with his own political philosophy as it developed five years later. It is also argued that his philosophy seems to have grown in many specific instances from the Patrons' platform of that year, and especially from James Douglas' campaign of that spring. Necessarily these sections sometimes overlap within the narrative presentation used here. Also, certain minimal details of Partridge's personal and family life are added to help relate these four most important developments to his own daily concerns within the seventeen years covered in this chapter.

Certain difficulties attend an account of this early period of E. A. Partridge's life. These mostly relate to factual discrepancies in the few published accounts of the first forty years of his life.

Sometime between the winter of late 1882 and the spring of 1883 he and his older brothers Henry Oscar and Albert moved west from the Ontario family farm and settled on land in the Qu'Appelle River Valley.[1] However, accounts of the Partridge brothers' westward emigration vary, and no precisely detailed account exists. Homestead records are unclear as to when Henry Partridge began occupancy of his land; as the eldest, the original family homestead was registered under his name, and Edward and Albert lived with him during the first year or two. Ralph Hedlin and George Edwards give the date as 1883, however, and this is generally accepted. Other accounts have varied. Hopkins Moorhouse mentions no date, while R. D. Colquette gives the date merely as "in the early eighties."[2] Olive Sutherland, Partridge's grandniece records the date as 1882 in her memoirs.

This minor uncertainty is symptomatic of a general lack of precision among accounts of Partridge's early personal activities. Indeed, even the fact that Albert Partridge accompanied them west is unclear. Moorhouse indicates that only the one brother, who certainly would have been Henry, accompanied Edward. On the other hand, others indicate that there were three brothers.[3] Problems with imprecise and contradictory biographical details thus seem to be general for the period from 1861 to 1901, beginning with various accounts of Partridge's birthdate, and lasting until his rise to prominence as the T.G.G.A.'s representative and observer at the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.

In light of existing records all the popular accounts are not only partial and contradictory, but incorrect in certain areas. This

applies not only to the settlement period and Partridge's activities during this time, but also to the nature and extent of his career as a teacher. Where such discrepancies deal with minor factual matters, a consensus among the sources will be taken as an indication of the probable veracity of the account, and simply recorded. Where the problem of oversight or omission is more important, direct issue will be taken with such versions.

## II

Before the Partridge brothers arrived in the North-West Territories there had been relatively little settlement there. However, the first Winnipeg land-speculation boom had run its course, and the C.P.R. had reached Regina the previous year, elevating a buffalo-hunting camp to a town and new territorial capital. While the family was to be once more among the first to settle in a relatively untouched area, there was also the promise of immediate and rapid development. By the spring of 1883, there were well over nine hundred miles of track laid between Fort William and Swift Current. This community at end-of-track was merely a tent city, however, and Regina doubtless acted as a magnet to the Partridges as the established commercial center located nearest to the railway's end, and opening the greatest area of free government land that was readily available. They therefore settled about fifty miles east of Regina. When Edwards writes that they, "in common with practically all the settlers at that time, went through all the hardships of pioneering in a country ahead

of the railroad,"[4] he overlooks the fact that it was probably the railway which determined their destination.

It was no doubt the railway which also caused them to move some distance north of the C.P.R. right-of-way. Under the first Dominion Lands Bill (1872), the American idea of free homesteads was given legal form, and any settler could make homestead entry on a quarter section after paying a ten dollar fee and fulfilling residence requirements of three years. However, a forty mile belt was set aside for building the railway. This was extended to a forty-eight mile belt by 1882. Blocks of railway lands and government lands were alternated within this belt, and in this area "the free-homestead system was altogether withdrawn, and even government lands were to be sold at a minimum price of $2.50 per acre."[5]

Beginning 1 January 1882 even-numbered sections of these lands were thrown open to free homestead entries, and attracted more settlers.[6] These newly available lands, located more closely to the railway, were apparently what attracted the Partridges to their new homestead overlooking the Qu'Appelle, for it was in this area that they settled.

When Edward Partridge and his brothers took up their land they lived under the most primitive conditions, as did most of their neighbors. It was in a tent that they "slept through their first star-strewn winter nights on the open prairie,"[7] as Moorhouse tells us. By Christmas, 1883, a "little tar-paper shanty" had replaced the tent, however, as they attempted to meet their homesteading requirements. According to the curious homespun hagiography dealing with this period

the shanty was sufficiently primitive to be worthy of an American presidential birthplace.

> So small was it that it was possible to wash oneself, dress oneself and get breakfast without getting out of bed. On the wall was a shelf which did duty as a table. There were also a little box stove and some odds and ends. When the roof leaked, which was every time it rained, it was necessary to put pans on the bed to catch the drip.[8]

Much is always made by Partridge's admirers of the hardships attendant upon his early years as a homesteader, and certainly they could scarcely have done otherwise than further strengthen his sense of identity with the farmers. Furthermore, such experiences would have sharpened his sense of grievance which was to find early expression in his populist political activities in 1896.

Drought conditions in the Qu'Appelle Valley were beginning to become a serious problem by 1883. The influx of settlers hoped for by the federal government and the C.P.R. was delayed and a number of those already on the land in that area left. The Partridges sowed forty-three acres to wheat during their first spring. From these a meagre seven bushels were "harvested" from around the edges of a slough.[9] Despite this discouraging beginning the Partridges remained on their land, disregarding the advice of their departing neighbors.

In April 1884 they officially moved onto their land and built a "sod pole house" of twenty by twenty-eight feet, as well as a large log stable and a log pig pen. In these they kept their first live-stock, two cattle and two pigs.[10] In that year they apparently also broke twenty-five acres, but cultivated none.[11] This effort required the full time and attention of Edward and Henry.

In December notice that a number of "prominent farmers and businessmen" from nearby Indian Head had met to draw up a petition to the North-West Territories Council requesting that the municipality of "Fyfe" by erected was given.[12] There is no indication that Edward Partridge was then prominent enough or had sufficient time to participate in this political organization, which represented the first such activities in the area after their arrival. Although the editor of the Qu'Appelle Vidette had called for settlers near Indian Head to "bestir themselves to secure representation in the North-West Council,"[13] these were hard times for Partridge and there is no indication that he bestirred himself unduly. However, as he was always an omnivorous reader, he must surely have had his sense of western identity sharpened by the predominant issue in the Territories at that time.

Later his brother Henry was certainly involved in this movement. When the election of councillors for the new municipality, finally named Indian Head, was held on 4 February, 1884, Henry Partridge was one of the numerous candidates who energetically contested the election with apparently more enthusiastic competitiveness than coherent political goals. The editor of the Vidette applauded the formation of the new municipality, but looked askance at "all the wire pulling and scheming of the candidates to catch the different votes at the election last Wednesday . . ."[14]

> The candidates, with one exception, claimed that they had never before been in politics; but the way the wires were pulled, and the "phantom" stories indulged in, one would have expected to see John Kelly or Sir John A. among them.[15]

There were fourteen nominations for the seven positions, and as the

editor noted, "the fight was hot." When the polling finished at five o'clock that evening however, Henry Partridge had tied John Boland for the lowest number of votes received by a winning councillor. David Railton, soon to become brother-in-law to the Partridges when he married their sister Anne, was among the more popular candidates. A coalition of local political activists was thus formed at the very earliest point in the area's history, and the Partridge and Railton families were to remain active and influential politically in the early formation of farmers' cooperative associations as well as such political organizations. Henry Partridge, always influential in his younger brother's life, probably aroused his interest in current political issues at this time.

The first major political confrontation in the area of Indian Head revolved about the local division between Major William R. Bell's large experimental farm and the homesteaders who led a more marginal existence. David Railton and Henry Partridge seem to have been among those who led the fight against the "Bell faction." Their resentment and frustration at Bell's virtual monopoly of local land and political power was a natural reaction as they aligned themselves with the smaller homesteaders whose problems they shared and more fully understood.

Bell came west in 1881, and was the first to purchase a large block of land in southern Saskatchewan. This farm consisted of sixty thousand acres, and was hailed as "the largest farm of continuous land in the world."[16] His plan for working the farm was to divide it into

two-hundred acre subdivisions, and to treat each portion "as a separate farm with separate outfits." Each of these farms had its own house and stables. All were connected with a central office by the farm's telephone system. A liaison branch of foremen looked after blocks of these farms, mediating between the farm's central office and the tenant farmers, helping to coordinate farm development, and generally embodying a simple authoritarian chain-of-command, doubtless congenial to Bell's military inclinations. An agricultural college to be established on the farm, to apply new techniques of land management and to conduct research into the uses of new crops, was never built. A Dr. Tanner, professor of agriculture, was to have been imported to lend maximum scientific credibility to the experiment. The eventual failure of this grandiose plan seems symptomatic of the general bad luck of the farm. Although heavily capitalized by a half million dollars of British and Canadian capital, and with $150,000.00 worth of six per cent debentures issued, the Bell company never paid dividends. Paradoxically, its large size, obvious political connections, and almost hubristic attack on the land alienated the local farmers while accomplishing little of immediate financial benefit.[17]

The large circular stone barn and house symbolized Bell's supposed arrogant power. Before he could move onto his newly acquired C.P.R. lands, squatters had as usual taken up residence. The court cases to evict these powerless people had destroyed the farm's image before it was really well established. Also, the fact that Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney, reportedly involved in the syndicate which had

bought up the Hudson's Bay Company land reserves around the projected site of Regina for the purposes of speculation, was also president of the Bell Farm Company, did little to enhance its popular acceptance around Indian Head and Sintaluta. Financial problems, bad weather, fire, the Riel Rebellion's draining of manpower, all led to the company's liquidation in 1889, although Bell continued farming thirteen thousand acres himself, until his final bankruptcy in 1894.[18]

The editor of the Vidette, joining the fight in 1885, noted that, after the election of Indian Head's first councillors, the "first meeting is anxiously looked forward to, as it is expected there will be some differences of opinion regarding the granting of a bonus to Major Bell, for a grist mill now in course of construction."[19] However, when the municipal council met at the Commercial Hotel for its first meeting, its concerns were chiefly administrative, dividing the new municipality into eastern and western divisions for assessment purposes, appointing assessors and taking applications for collector. Railton and Partridge are not mentioned as having participated at all. The anticipated political uproar thus quickly subsided.[20] This was doubtless due to the fact that the councillors "all appear(ed) to be rather green."[21] It remained for Edward to lead the fight against "big interests" later, but his observations of this early confrontation shaped his attitudes in several ways.

While the fight against Bell was being joined cautiously by his brother and friends (Railton, as municipal collector, having had the satisfaction of seizing the Bell horses for non-payment of taxes[22]),

Edward, busy homesteading and teaching, contented himself by writing to the Vidette, denouncing monopoly in rather more general terms. In March 1885 he wrote

> The poor unfortunate settlers in this district are being ground down most unmercifully. All we receive for our wheat, no matter how good, is 50 cents per bushel . . . whilst we pay for the best flour two and one-half cents, and for seconds two cents, and three-quarters of a cent per lb. for bran to give our cattle. If this is not a monopoly, I wish to know what is - it is putting on the screw too tight. The farmers in the North-West seem to be altogether at the mercy of the millers and grain buyers. Have we no chance to escape from such imposition! Is there no hope for the POOR SETTLER![23]

Already Partridge was placing local problems within a broader context, combining financial detail with outraged rhetoric in sometimes jarring combinations.

One possible reason that no printed attack was made directly upon the Bell farm by Edward Partridge was his inevitable ambivalence towards the project. It was a grand experiment, along the lines of Cannington Manor, and promised new possibilities within a new country. This was an article of faith for Partridge, and the arrogant, large-scale assault upon the land which offended so many of his fellow farmers would not have outraged young Edward. The systematic, authoritarian and, above all, scientific and educational, approach taken by Bell would have struck him as progressive. Indeed, the farm's highly structured, centralized organization bears much in common with Partridge's later utopian plans for Coalsamao, his proposed western nation.

## III

Edward Partridge continued to live on his brother's farm, but

on 8 January 1884 he made entry for his own land. In his first year he sowed ten acres to wheat, but built no houses or fences. By June 1885 he noted in a statement concerning his claim to this land that "I have not resided on my land but within two miles of it." He was teaching at Broadview then and having difficulty in meeting his legal responsibilities as a homesteader. He noted that he had received permission to live with his brother from the Minister of the Interior, and added that "(if) not already broken I intend to have fifteen acres broken this year." Finally, by way of explaining his initial failure to build, he offered what appears to be a rather revealing explanation. "I have not built as I desire to put up a better house than I can at present afford and I interpret the new act as not requiring the house until the expiration of the 3 years when residing within two miles."[24] Actual circumstances always appeared to interfere with the houses Partridge wished to build in his imagination, and anything less was unsatisfactory. Those who settled for the more practical possibilities often found this trait unnaturally visionary, and when applied to his political and social ideals, frequently led to an extreme utopianism which inevitably alienated his more pragmatic associates.

Partridge continued to experience difficulties getting established on his homestead through early 1884, and in July Thomas Swan, the Homestead Inspector, reported that he had met Edward in Wolseley on his way to take up residence on the claim. He warned the young settler that "you will require to comply more strictly with the Homestead law in the future" and added that "(if) you have received

permission as you state to reside within two miles of your homestead . . . you will of course be aware of what cultivation and improvements you will require to make (sic) to fulfill the conditions of the . . . act."[25] Such petty bureaucratic harassment surely irritated Partridge, whose personality was volatile at the best of times.

Indeed, it seems uncalled for, as he was struggling to pursue two undertakings vital to the economic and social life of the new settlements. While he referred to his occupation at this time as that of "Farmer & Sometimes Teacher," it was rather the reverse which was more correct. In 1885 he observed that "I hold an Ontario teachers' certificate but teach now only to obtain ready money to get a proper start as a farmer."[26] As a well-educated addition to the area, however, Partridge was a man whose much-needed services as a teacher were always in demand.

As early as December 1880 Lieutenant-Governor David Laird, recognizing the need for educational facilities in the territories, advised the North-West Territories Council that he proposed to aid schools supported by missions or voluntary contributions to the extent of paying half the teacher's salary where there was an average attendance of fifteen pupils. The Minister of the Interior felt that the Council should not impose direct taxation as there were no elected members on the Council at the time. However, Laird kept to his decision, and a few schools were established throughout the territory in this rather haphazard fashion.[27] In March 1883 the first such school had been opened in Regina.[28] That summer, "two English ladies"

established a boarding school in Broadview.[29] In July the school trustees were appointed and they began searching for a teacher.[30] Edward Partridge was then living on his brother's homestead thirteen miles distant, and was persuaded to begin teaching at the Boardview boarding school. He later recalled riding the distance to the little school every morning,[31] although he must have lived in Boardview for some periods of time as well to avoid what was a rather long ride.

In that first year of teaching there were only twelve schools in the entire North-West Territories, with a total of just over three hundred pupils. Edward Partridge was thus one of the first teachers in the Northwest. It was a career he was to follow energetically for the remainder of the decade, and was to effect his views on his own role in the political and social agitations with which he was later associated.

After a short time teaching at Broadview Partridge felt that he might begin his own private school in the area. Early in 1885 he returned to the locality to assess this possibility. He recalled borrowing enough articles of presentable clothing from his three brothers and a friend who was then living with them "so that he would create the necessary impression among strangers . . ." A highly colourful, and no doubt slightly exaggerated account of this period, indicates that when he arrived in Broadview and had taken a room at the hotel there, he wrote to his brothers requesting that his "linen" be sent out in a heavy trunk "to represent my credit." When the trunk arrived

two men were required to carry it to his room. However, when opened, it contained only a few books, a pair of stockings, and a number of heavy stones. On an old duster was pinned a note advising "Here's your linen!"[32]

The aspirations of the young teacher were disappointed by the lack of students enrolling at his newly opened school, however, and while he remained in Broadview from November to April, the spring brought the North-West Rebellion. Partridge, very discouraged by the low enrollment, was soon to enlist in the Yorkton Company Active Militia when Major T. C. Watson arrived recruiting guards for an arms shipment to the York Colony.

On 26 March 1885 Superintendent L. N. F. Crozier inadvertently initiated the first skirmish in the North-West Rebellion. When his mounted police patrol was forced to retreat after the half-hour encounter at Duck Lake, word quickly spread of Gabriel Dumont's victory. This almost instantly caused widespread uneasiness, and often virtual hysteria, throughout the territory. One week after the "Duck Lake massacre" the editor of the Qu'Appelle newspaper described the situation in his area in this way.

> The sole subject of concentration here is the Riel rebellion . . . As imagined many false reports are flying about; but, nevertheless, all agree that the rebellion is a very serious affair, and that our gallant volunteers will have some hard fighting to do. Many of the farmers of this neighborhood have taken their teams to Troy,[33] tempted, no doubt, by the big pay, and it seems that if the rebellion lasts any length of time that very little farming will be done in our neighborhood.[34]

He added that Major W. R. Bell had recently returned "from the Old Country" prepared for the coming fray, and that the Bell farm had sent

out forty teams as his initial contribution to the cause.[35] What was not noted was the fact that this was done for an exorbitant ten dollars per day for each team.[36] Obviously, the Rebellion was going to be good for business. Henry Partridge took the family team to Troy in an effort to participate in the anticipated prosperity. A month later the Vidette noted that "our farmers who have teams in the Transport Service were made happy . . . by receipt of their first month's pay. Business, in consequence, is rushing."[37]

R. D. Colquette writes that "when Riel went on the rampage . . . (Partridge) joined the Yorkton rangers," and regrets that his "exploits" were not recorded.[38] Such exploits, however, can be readily deduced from surviving accounts.

Edward Partridge spent the three months of actual armed resistance in the Yorkton Company Active Militia, stationed at Yorkton, the major settlement in the newly established York Colony, located roughly sixty miles north of Broadview. This militia company appears to have been raised in response to the constant political pressure exerted upon the Minister of Militia and Defense by the York Farmers' Colonization Company, which operated through H. Clark Wallace, M.P., to insist upon militia protection for its property.[39] Virtually every community in the North-West (and even some in Ontario) submitted similar petitions to Adolphe Caron, the Minister of Militia. Caron wisely referred most of these to Major-General Frederick Middleton, the North-West Field Force Commander. Middleton ignored most of these, "treating them only as evidence of the craven panic he found so widespread."[40] However,

in some cases, as with Yorkton, the minister apparently found the political pressure too persuasive to allow this procedure. Wallace's insistence, therefore, led to the establishment of a local volunteer militia company, to be commanded by Major T. Charles Watson.

Watson, a former British officer, was living in Ottawa when the Rebellion broke out.[41] He was a good party man "living in Canada in straitened circumstances."[42] His services were acquired by an arrangement between Caron and the York Colonization Company in April, and he and Sergeant-Major E. W. G. Gardiner, also "in urgent need of a little income," were dispatched promptly to Yorkton.[43]

Watson and Gardiner left Ottawa on 3 April. As the C.P.R. had not yet been built around the North Shore, they travelled through Chicago, arriving in Winnipeg three days later. There they purchased one hundred rifles and five thousand rounds of ammunition, and immediately took the railway west to Broadview.[44] There Watson and Gardiner were forced to wait for their shipment of arms. Watson later reported that "having ascertained that the country to be traversed was in a very unsettled condition," he enlisted a number of Broadview men "as an escort for the arms and ammunition . . ." He also swore in the teamsters with the five teams sent from Yorkton for transport, and purchased tents and provision for the trek north.[45]

One of those recruits was Edward Partridge, now rather dispirited and seeking an escape from the tedious routine of the boarding school. On 11 April he was among those who volunteered to escort the wagons north.[46] Partridge later wrote, "I enlisted for active service

in the Yorkton Light Infantry,"[47] but his obvious desire for action was thwarted by Middleton's views of the companies such as that which he had just joined. The general's opinion of the volunteer militia companies, raised virtually overnight from totally untrained men in response to the most pecuniary local initiative, guaranteed that Partridge's company was kept distant from the action experienced by the Batoche column.

Middleton later felt it necessary to acknowledge that his campaign "was remarkable as having been carried out solely by colonial militia, who had never seen a shot fired in anger . . . " These men had been "suddenly called from the desk, the store, the plough" to fight "a far distant enemy, who bore the character of being wily and brave, perfect bush fighters, and good shots."[48] This was certainly true, but it was well known that "his preference for British 'regulars' or at least for those who had seen imperial service, was glaring and distasteful."[49] This was generally true of the older companies and especially so for the overnight creations. Certainly he felt utter contempt for the constant demands from each community for a militia company to seemingly protect each endangered cow. In his report to Parliament the following year he wrote

> At first I was rendered very uneasy, especially as it would have required at least 5000 men, and the same number of arms, with ammunition to comply with their requests, but I soon began to find out that, at this crisis, exaggeration was a "prairie peculiarity," and at last I named these stories and reports "Nor'-Westers," and it came to be a joke in my force about "the General's horror of Nor'-Westers."[50]

Thus it appears that the Yorkton militia was to be kept out of harm's

way, a political response to a Nor'-Wester. However, it was ultimately to prove more valuable.

On 12 April the men were issued a rifle and twenty rounds of ammunition each. The ox-train then began its northward journey. Watson reported that the march was "tedious, owing to the condition of the ground at that season of the year, and the well-known slow pace of the oxen." During that first day the wagons had to be pulled through heavy mud, but fourteen miles were covered nevertheless. Watson camped just south of the Qu'Appelle River Valley, and "formed the wagons into a corral, and, having detailed a guard, and posted sentries, we remained there for the night."[51] The next morning they forded the river at dawn, and covered twenty-five miles before their next camp. The train arrived at Yorkton on 15 April, after four days of hard travel.

Major Watson first set up his headquarters at the town's stone grist mill, but soon saw its indefensibility, overlooked by a wooded bluff as it was. "I at once chose another spot, and pitched tents on higher ground, in the open, placing arms and ammunition under a guard, in the Land Office."[52]

The following Saturday, 18 April, "a great number of the settlers came into Yorkton." Watson addressed them, and at the conclusion of his speech, nearly forty enlisted. The company then numbered fifty-two, with the contingent of Broadview men.[53]

The first task Watson set his men was to build "Fort Watson," aided by the local settlers. The land company donated three town lots, and on these was dug a rectangular three-foot ditch in which logs were

placed upright, creating an eight-foot wall with four bastions, loop-holes for rifles and an outer ditch six feet wide and four deep. Inside a well was dug, a brick oven built, as well as two log houses for the settlers' families, a guard room and cook house.[54] "The men's tents were pitched in lines at regular intervals, with streets between."[55] Such elaborate defense measures kept the men busy, but proved to be somewhat more than was required.

Only two encounters with local Cree developed. Two days after the York Colonists moved into Yorkton, and before the "fort" was well begun, Little Bones' band left the Leach Lake reserve and moved twenty miles north to camp in the Little White Sand Valley opposite the militia camp. Watson had been notified by Lt.-Governor Dewdney that the band posed no threat. He therefore offered them gifts of tobacco, tea and pork, which were accepted. Shortly thereafter they returned to demand more. Watson reported that he "positively declined, and told them they could not expect a repetition of such favors, and that their proper place was on their reserve."[56]

After this rather high-handed speech, the Indians decamped for the north, and began raiding the isolated Scottish settlers along the Pelly trail. On 26 April, Watson took almost his entire force on a forced dawn march fifteen miles northwest to Cussed Creek, where Little Bones was camped with a large band from the File Hills reserve on their way to Duck Lake.[57] The militiamen, including Partridge, surrounded the camp, while Gardinar loudly read to the startled Indians Dewdney's proclamation ordering them back onto their reserve and

threatening that they would otherwise be "treated as Rebels."[58] Watson later claimed that it was the "cool and determined action of Drill Instructor Gardiner" which averted this potentially violent confrontation.[59] What actually occured was that two settlers[60] entered the camp and promised the Cree provisions from Joel Reaman's store in Yorkton.[61]

By June the threat had obviously passed and Watson and Gardiner were ordered back to Ottawa. They also were ordered to take with them the arms and ammunition, leaving the recently threatened York Colony without protection. Watson dismissed his men at Fort Watson on 8 June.[62] They may have spent a brief period at Moose Mountain,[63] but were back in Broadview on 17 June and released from service there.[64]

Before they had left Yorkton, however, one last problem had arisen. When Watson left so precipitately, taking the arms with him, James Armstrong, the land company's first managing director, and Joel Reaman wrote to Wallace protesting their removal. The Scottish settlers along the Pelly trail especially feared renewed hostilities. Armstrong warned of a possible massacre. Watson himself felt that the arms should have remained, but the Ottawa government insisted they be recalled. There was much anger among the settlers and militia volunteers directed at this order.[65]

The colonization companies were an integral part of Macdonald's national policy, and were also designed to build a Conservative political following in the west. Furthermore, most of the York Colonists were Protestant Ontarians, and often Orangemen. They were therefore

already strong Conservative supporters, although Armstrong and Reaman were striving to build a stronger Conservative following for Macdonald's party and colonization plans. However, this widespread support and sympathy was all but lost through this one blunder. Thomas White, the new Minister of the Interior, was sent to the York Colony several months later, and was able to bring the disaffected settlers back into the Conservative fold,[66] but Partridge had left by that time, and his perceptions of this incident doubtless remained for him one further instance, and a rather blatant one, of Ottawa's insensitivity to the realities of western life.

Partridge's experiences during the North-West Rebellion satisfied his wishes for adventure. More practically, of course, the pay and food were almost equally attractive.[67] He received fifty cents for each day spent with the militia, or a total of thirty-four dollars for his entire period of service.[68] Beyond what was then a substantial cash return, the federal government allowed this time to apply on the term set for homestead duties before he could come into possession of his land, thus circumventing for awhile the irascible Thomas Swan. Also, the following January, he was issued 320 acres of bounty land as a volunteer militiaman "actively . . . bearing arms in the supression of the Indian and Half-Breed outbreak . . ."[69] When he took possession of this land at Katepwe on 17 July 1886,[70] claim to his land was finally secure, and it was from this farm that he conducted his affairs for virtually the remainder of his life.

More importantly, his involvement in the Yorkton Militia had

an early influence upon his nascent political ideas. Exposure to the demands and ideals of the first militant western separatist surely caused Partridge to speculate upon the possibilities of such a development. This was doubtless the germinal influence setting in process a long train of thought which utlimately led to his own vision of a western nation forty years later, after the memories of the earlier "half-breed" progenitor had been allowed to subside in most western minds. His observation of the York Colony would have reinforced large scale, highly regimented developments for harvesting the western prairies as the model for his own conceptions. His sense of western identity would have been sharpened considerably by Middleton's and Watson's obvious antipathy toward the farmers with whom he had served. In Partridge's pure, primitive democratic ideal these were to be the basis for future western development, but had apparently been looked down upon by the officers from the east who had led them. Finally, the incompetent manner in which the York Colonists were treated at the end of the hostilities by a distant Ottawa government not aware of local conditions added to his incipient sense of grievance.

IV

A biographer writes that after his militia experiences, Edward Partridge "returned to his farm to devote full time to its development for the next fifteen years."[71] In fact he continued to teach more seriously than before the rebellion. During this period he pursued his career singlemindedly, although the beginning of political unrest

and cooperative activities began to occupy his neighbors. Indeed, his farm was "not flourishing," and this may have induced him to pursue his avocation as an alternate source of income.[72] Most of the farm work seems to have fallen to his brothers, while he taught and worked on neighboring farms to raise the cash needed for the various family enterprises.[73] In 1888 Edward was to marry Mary Stephens, a young woman from Balcarres. She was twenty at the time, seven years younger than her husband.[74] Their first son was born the following year, adding responsibilities to the young family. Partridge, however, ended his teaching career in 1889.

Partridge had acquired an Ontario teachers' certificate before moving west in 1883.[75] There is no evidence to support the supposition that young Edward attended Normal School, however. His name does not appear on the training or entrance registers for the Ontario Normal schools, in the indices of certificates issued to teachers, nor in the subscription books or pay lists for the appropriate periods. It is therefore unlikely that he taught for a very long period of time in Ontario although in the early 1800's attending high school to the end of grade eleven and writing examinations, or even a year's attendance at high school, would have qualified him for non-professional certification in that province.

In June 1885 Partridge returned to his land and built his own "shanty," a mere ten by twelve feet. This small building was his first home. However, he continued to spend much of his time at the adjoining family farm until his marriage. He also built a small stable nineteen

by twenty feet. To the ten acres broken before the rebellion he added eighteen, but of these twenty-eight only eleven were cultivated. No fencing was done that year.[76] Thus his farming seems to have been done mainly to prove up and establish claim to the lands acquired before his bounty lands, especially when it is considered that no further building was done until 1891,[77] and this work was often done by his brothers. Partridge later told Hopkins Moorhouse that the five years following his return from Yorkton were "years of continuous struggle." Although they were characterized by "thriving crops" for the family, the price of wheat fluctuated between thirty and forty cents per bushel.[78] The first resentment against the marketing system must have begun to fester in the struggling young farmer's mind during these years, especially as he endeavored to support his wife and son after 1889 with no teaching salary upon which he could depend. Nevertheless, he was not drawn into organized protest until 1896, and not in any influential capacity until 1901.

The North-West Territories Board of Education Reports for this period indicates that Edward spent virtually all the period from 1885 to 1889 building a teaching career. Both Henry and Edward taught in Western Assiniboia after 1886. In that year Henry received a provisional certificate and began teaching at Spring Coulee. Edward moved to Katepwe, on the Fishing Lakes, about fifteen miles northwest of his farm. There he was the first teacher in the Bonnycastle school district. He taught thirty-two students that year, a high percentage of whom actually attended his classes.[79] Both brothers were successful,

School Inspector Thomas Grover[80] finding Henry's first teaching efforts "very encouraging" and Edward's "highly satisfactory."[81] Grover added in his report that in a few cases he "found good teachers who had no previous experience, but were gifted with a natural aptitude for teaching."[82] These comments obviously apply to the Partridge brothers, who received the most favourable of his comments in that year. Adding that several schools in the new district already compared favourably with "some town and rural schools in the older provinces," he concluded that this was "not in the least surprising when we consider the enterprising and intelligent spirit of the people who have made homes in the 'Lone Land', in whose vocabulary there is no such word as 'failure'."[83]

These comments suggest the contagious pioneering spirit of the time which so effectively animated Partridge throughout his life. He and Grover shared their enthusiasm for this early educational work, and Partridge would sometimes visit him in Regina. For example, during the Christmas break in 1888 he spent some of his vacation in the capital as a guest in Grover's home.[84] He was to remain a close and influential friend throughout the younger man's teaching years, and apparently was godfather to Edward's first son, Charles Grover. The older man felt that "There is no factor in the national greatness of a country of more importance that its Public Schools, no more powerful lever to turn the tide of emigration . . ."[85] It was an ideal in which Partridge always believed, and towards which he always worked in one capacity or another.

Shortly after having visited with Grover, Partridge was back in

Regina once more. He sat for what were considered rather grueling three-day departmental examinations from 11 to 13 January. These tests were concentrated within this period "in order to reduce (the candidates') travelling expenses to as small a figure as possible."[86] Nevertheless, it added greatly to the pressure upon the aspiring candidates.

The teachers' examination prepared by the Rev. David Lewis for that year, when the Partridge brothers along with several other candidates met to be tested, fell into eight sections. (There were a battery of questions on those areas similarly covered in the corresponding Ontario examinations.) These areas were English literature and composition, physiology and hygiene, arithmetic, geography, Euclid, grammer, algebra and history. In the fact section, Partridge was asked simply, "What is meant by English literature?" and instructed to write a short essay on either of the two perennial such topics for that period, either "North West Winter" or "North West Summer." As an exercise in "physiology and hygiene" he was required to explain why "human beings and dumb animals die if they are shut up in a room where no fresh air can come in?" and to describe "all you know about the way in which a dinner of solid food - beef and potatoes - is digested and turned into good blood." There followed simple exercises in finding square and cube roots, finding averages, explaining terms such as "equator", naming the principal mountain ranges of Asia, and identifying the kingdoms in the Saxon Heptarchy.[87]

Both Henry and Edward passed handily, Henry receiving his third

class certificate and Edward his second class non-professional certificate.[88] Edward had used his Ontario certificate to obtain a second-class standing, with two personal endorsements by the Inspector of Schools. This newly acquired certificate was ordinarily to be used for only one year, after which probation, if receiving the approval of the Western Assiniboia Protestant Section, it would be exchanged for a second-class professional certificate, to be used for an additional probationary year.[89] However, after teaching at Bonnycastle for a year, Edward was back in Regina the following January to write his first-class professional examinations. While teaching a large class from November 1886 to March 1887, and a smaller class of twenty-five during the 1887 summer period,[90] Partridge had also studied rigorously in preparation for the upcoming tests.[91] This demanding exercise was apparently successful. In 1888 Henry received his second-class certificate, and Edward his first-class professional certification, eliminating his probationary year through the excellence of his standing.[92] He was the only candidate to receive this standing that year, and was the first person to receive a first-class certificate under the new Board of Education in the North-West Territories.[93]

His examiners, when he sat for the test that winter, were the Rev. A. B. Baird, the Edmonton Inspector, and the Rev. D. Groton. His old friend Grover sat on his English literature, arithmetic and history examinations. Generally the questions were much more difficult that those of the previous year, and the grading criteria more rigorous. Once again the questions were doubtless difficult in their unexpected

eccentricity. Partridge was expected to "write a note on Shylock as a typical Jew," name the author of the now correctly spelled Complete Angler, identify classical quotations (such as "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible."), and solve a series of rather tricky algebraic problems.[94]

At about this time the Board of Education session in Regina decided that teachers would have to achieve fifty per cent accuracy on each subject section and seventy per cent of the whole test to acquire first-class professional certification, but Partridge apparently scored much higher than this.[95]

While continuing to teach, Henry Partridge had re-entered local politics. A year earlier he had been nearly elected chairman of the Indian Head Municipal Council. He lost to William Broley, but was appointed to the special committee of three to appoint standing committees, and became a member of the Education, Health and Charity Committee, as well as the Finance, Assessment and Safety Committee.[96] This successful re-entry into civic politics was to draw him gradually away from his teaching and toward an eventual magistracy in Sintaluta. In this capacity his career and his brother's would coincide once more at the spectacular Sintaluta trial fifteen years later. However, from this time onward, their lives, which had previously been almost parallel in their courses, were to take increasingly divergent paths.

Henry continued to teach at Spring Coulee until 1890, when he received his first-class professional standing.[97] In 1891 he moved from the smaller Sintaluta school to Summerhill.[98] As well as

teaching, Henry Partridge, as an original member of the Indian Head Municipal Council, continued to exert his influence there, as Secretary of the Agricultural Society, secretary of the local Grain Growers' Association and later as a director of the S.G.G.A., a farmers' delegate to Ottawa during the free-trade controversy of 1910, and as a magistrate he rose briefly to national prominence during the Sintaluta court case against the C.P.R., where his rather unsurprising decision for the T.G.G.A. was taken as a triumph for the grain growers' movement. In general he remained an "active member of every social service and reform movement the community knew."[99] During the three decades during which Henry and Edward Partridge lived in the Canadian west, their interests were thus clearly very similar, yet Henry seemed content to remain active at the local level for most of his life, whereas Edward was soon to find himself an actor on a wider stage.

For several years, however, he continued teaching, first at Bonnycastle, where he was the first teacher in the newly erected district, from 1885 until the summer of 1887 when he transferred to the Maple Green school.[100] He was replaced during the winter term of 1888 when he returned to Bonnycastle.[101] Here he apparently met Mary Stephens, who lived nereby at Balcarres, and married her in 1888. Two of her sisters were teachers in Pioneer and Regina during this period, and Edward may have met Mary through them.

In 1888 Edward earned fifty-two dollars for his summer teaching. That is, he was one of the most higly paid teachers in the territory. During the following year he made slightly over $145.00.[102] As he was

in many ways at the top of his profession then, it is puzzling that he left teaching in June 1889 and does not appear to have taught again. His ratings in Inspectors' reports were invariably very good. By 1887 he was drawing several hundred dollars each year to the school in which he taught through grants for his high certification, high capitation grants for consistent attendance, and other reasons. He could thus have remained very successful as a teacher any time after 1887, and this would have been even more expected in light of his recently assumed familial responsibilities. However, he may have wished to return to the farm to be near his new family at this time.

A more likely explanation, in keeping with his later pattern of behavior, is that he probably felt that the educational system was no longer in its pioneering stages and that access to the newly proliferating administrative positions were blocked to him. In 1888 Western Assiniboia District had thirty-eight schools open and employed forty-two teachers instructing well over a thousand students.[103] Union Schools were being introduced into the system, including normal schools instructing courses in "The History, Science and Art of Education," "School Law," "Methodology," "School Organization and Management" and numerous similar courses felt necessary to upgrade the qualifications of a rapidly expanding teaching staff. All principals after 1889 had to be a graduate of "some University in Her Majesty's Dominions . . . ."[104] The intimate relationship between pioneer teachers and inspector had ended at this time as well. In 1890 his friend Thomas Grover was replaced by T. R. Patillo, M.A., as the acting inspector.[105]

These developments doubtless signalled the change to a more highly educated and technically oriented administrative hierarchy for Partridge, and feeling alienated from the growing educational bureaucracy, he made the effort to become a self-sufficient farmer in the next decade. He could scarcely afford the time or money to obtain a university degree as preparation for the position of principal, and as a chronically ambitious and impatient man, he turned away from the areas for advancement now apparently closed to him.

All the brief biographies of Partridge underestimate the extent and influence of his period of professional teaching. One indicates that he "taught briefly at Broadview,"[106] Moorhouse mentions only the brief Broadview years,[107] while even W. L. Morton overlooks the significance of this period almost entirely.[108] In fact, the records indicate that Partridge taught seriously for over a decade, beginning in Ontario and continuing in Assiniboia. He strenuously pursued excellence and professional advancement in this area, and seems to have seen himself primarily as an educator throughout the remainder of his life as a result of these formative years. This previously ignored decade therefore is of crucial importance in understanding Partridge's later career, and provides a perspective from which to more fully understand the frequent rejections of apparent success and security which marked these years. As his role as educator were subverted by the growing bureaucratisation of the movements he had helped create, he repeatedly rejected the new administrative duties thrust upon him, preferring to find another platform for his views. After

1901 he saw himself as simply teaching a much larger class, and this aspect of his contribution to western agrarian organization is now being more fully acknowledged. For example, the Saskatchewan Agricultural Hall of Fame citation notes that he "created the attitudes that led to the organization of the Prairie Wheat Pools."[109]

V

In June 1889 Edward's father, John Thomas Partridge, his step-mother and fifteen brothers and sisters moved west to take up residence on their new homestead. This became the focal point for a growing family farm community as the Partridge children grew to maturity and moved onto adjoining lands during the following decade, much in the manner accomplished two generations earlier in Oro Township. During the first year the family broke sixty-four acres. In the next year these were cultivated and forty-four more broken. By 1892 almost one hundred and thirty acres were under cultivation, a small herd of cattle were prospering, and a large, rambling log house had been built by the older Partridge sons to house their father's family.[110] It was constructed from logs cut and hauled from the Spring Coulee area.

Edward spent much of this time helping the older man get established on his land. Still periodically visited by the homestead inspector, he found it necessary to explain the lack of activity on his own farm during these years by noting his absence at Katepwe teaching and his long periods working for his father. Nevertheless,

when a prairie fire burned his original house and stables in 1891, the family helped him build the bigger house he had wished for during the previous years when he had been too busy to build. He moved into this large frame house in 1891, and worked to improve his land, building up a small herd from his father's stock, and acquiring a team of horses as draft animals.[111] In 1890 his sister Anne had married David Railton, the first farmer in the area to import a carload of horses to replace the slower oxen for plowing, and he bought the horses from Railton.[112]

During his teaching years Partridge had travelled about frequently, taking in public events and lectures. As an example, in 1888 he was mentioned as being among a number of arrivals at the Qu'Appelle Valley Hotel, some of whom apparently came south to hear John Nixon read his paper on "Farmers and Farming in the Northwest" before the Indian Head Business Association.[113] Such activities seem to have stopped almost entirely in 1889, as Partridge turned inward toward his family and relations, and for ten years became what he had originally intended, a farmer.

In May 1886 the Indian Head Masonic Lodge was established and Partridge joined, attending regularly.[114] He remained a member throughout his life and was buried in a Masonic ceremony in 1931.

During the 1890's, Partridge attempted to farm, but these years culminated a period of severe hail damage, drought, uneven grading practices and elevator monopoly for the farmers in Assiniboia,[115] and consequently he found this increasingly difficult. The next organized

response to these conditions was the introduction of a mid-western American movement into Ontario in 1889 and Manitoba two years later. The Patrons of Industry filtered west in the ensuing years, demanding economic reform, simplification of laws, tariff reform to the farmers' benefit and abolition of the Senate. It entered noisily but ineffectually into the 1891 election, and by 1896, with the additional issues of western exploitation and separate schools, they mounted a campaign in the west.[116]

The most influential western Patron was undoubtedly James Moffat Douglas, a Presbyterian minister who had turned to politics and was to become "the first voice to be raised in (the House of Commons) urging reforms in the grain trade."[117] Throughout May 1896 Douglas "visited about every town along the line of C.P.R. organizing good working committees at each point . . ." Among these were Indian Head, Qu'Appelle and Fort Qu'Appelle. There he found that "the good cause had made far greater progress . . . than had been supposed" and noted that active committees had been formed and the work of organization was well advanced. In Sintaluta he found the "battle cry" to be "National Schools and No Coercion."[118]

In May Douglas circulated his eleven-point platform to his prospective constituents. This document is interesting in that many of these points exactly parallel several essential ideas which comprised Partridge's political philosophy a full decade later. Indeed, the eighth point is virtually a verbatim rendering of one key element in what came to be called the Partridge Plan. Douglas called for

> The government control and supervision of all our commercial highways on either land or water. All our methods of transit and the price thereof must be in the power and under the supervision of the government, with view to conserve the interests of all citizens. All subsidized lines of railway or steamship companies must make Canadian interests their first and chief care, and minimum rates extended to our people as an equivalent for subsidies received.[119]

He also called for legislation "against all monopolies and combines who have under the present administration unduly increased the price of all necessaries for the farmer . . ." He called for free trade with Britain as well, and reciprocal trade with other trading nations. "No more discrimination against the Mother Country." This rhetoric would be echoed precisely by Partridge in 1910 and 1911. Douglas called for a non-partisan front of disaffected party supporters to "unite by inaugurating a new condition of things that shall emancipate agriculture from the dominion of the combine . . ." Such a non-partisan approach was basic to Partridge's philosophy. It was taken up actively about 1913, and probably reinforced an early disaffiliation from the national political parties. Douglas' non-partisan alignment was based on regional self interest.

> Since my first acquaintance with this country in 1883 I have held strong convictions, that in view of our position geographically and commercially we could not afford to indulge largely in the strife of party politics, but that it would require the united wisdom and strength of all parties . . .

His call for female suffrage, and universal male suffrage (one man, one vote) in response to recent inequitable Conservative legislation,[120] also would have appealed to Partridge's democratic spirit, as would the Patrons' additional support for the idea that "the representatives

of agricultural constituencies shall be farmers . . ."[121]

It can be seen that many of the ideals basic to Partridge's later political philosophy apparently had their genesis in the populist demands which were widely discussed in his area during the Douglas campaign. While there is no evidence that Partridge was actually a member of a Patrons committee, he later indicated to Moorhouse his early affiliation with the movement.[122] It is known that five months after the federal election he was certainly involved in the populist upsurge. On 23 November 1896 he was secretary of the mass meeting held at Fort Qu'Appelle for the purpose of selecting a candidate for the North-West Assembly. This meeting had been called "at the request of a number of free electors" who expressed the wish that the public should have some voice in the naming of candidates. "The majority of those present were only intent on having a farmer - the choice of a mass meeting of farmers - to run as their candidate."[123]

After this first entry into the political arena, Partridge withdrew completely from public affairs until his sudden rise to prominence five years later with the organization of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association.

## Chapter Three:

## FIRST STEPS 1896-1901

The process by which Edward Partridge became directly involved with the growing agrarian discontent in the Northwest Territories is not clear. Ralph Hedlin observes that he "showed little evidence of the fight and fury that was to come" following his sudden wrathful descent upon the Winnipeg Grain Exchange in 1904.[1] George Edwards later recalled that Partridge "became identified with the incipient farm movement from the beginning as he, in common with all other settlers, had to put up with the injustice and abuses in connection with marketing of their grain."[2] This observation is undoubtedly accurate, and would at first tend to illustrate S. M. Lipset's contention that the "development of economic class consciousness on the Canadian prairies dates from the first large-scale settlement at the turn of the century."[3] However, a closer examination of the history of agrarian radicalism indicates that Partridge more probably exemplified the convergence of numerous tendencies inherent in social and political developments emerging throughout the Canadian west for two decades prior to the commencement of his own public career.

The immediate ideological and organizational antecedents of early twentieth century grain growers' associations have been identified as the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Union and later, the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Cooperative and Protective Union.[4]

During the early 1880's widespread agrarian discontent existed along the Manitoba and North-West Territorial farming frontiers in response to a complex range of interrelated circumstances which included variable climate, distant markets, and dependence upon the wheat economy.[5] In 1878 the newly re-elected Conservative Government in Ottawa had announced its National Policy, and when its tariff measures were implemented in 1879, it gave western farmers a focus for their increasing discontent. This became particularly acute with the declining economic fortunes of the region following the end of the Manitoba boom in March 1882.[6] A severe depression, which was felt especially in Manitoba's emergent economy, prepared fertile ground for the first popular agrarian uprising in western Canada. It was these developments that focused political antipathy upon the National Policy, and created a uniquely evocative symbol of western economic disadvantage. As Carl Berger notes, it remained a powerful symbol four decades later.

> The protective tariff of 1878 occupied the same prominence in the Canadian progressive mind as did the 'great crime' of 1876 - the demonitization of silver - in American populism. It symbolized the dominance of the 'vested interest' over the productive classes in society.[7]

This monolithic regional response was augmented by the fact that before 1896 non-partisan politics were normal in the North-West Territories at the local level. This situation prevailed until 1905, when the schools question emerged following the unveiling of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts.

> There was little dispute about the Territories' goals and a general conviction that, in dealing with Ottawa, these goals could be achieved more quickly and completely if members of the (Legislative) Assembly spoke with a single voice. On

> local matters some distinction was made between "government" and "opposition" members, but it was neither rigid nor enduring.[8]

Agrarian protest was ultimately dependent upon the success or failure of crops in western Canada. As the bumper crops and subsequent "blockade" in 1901 led to the establishment of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association in Assiniboia, so did a sharp frost on the night of 7 September 1883 lead to its Manitoban predecessors.[9] The damaged crop brought as little as fifteen cents per bushel. In response Charles Stewart, "a graduate of Cambridge University and a none too successful farmer,"[10] and certainly a man with whom Partridge could identify, wrote to the Brandon Sun calling for a convention in that city where regional grievances could be aired. Supported by a local business community recently weakened by the declining economy, a convention was held 26 November 1883 in the Brandon City Hall to form the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Union. This was an organization "dominated by merchants and professional men" which carried on the territorial tradition of "extra parliamentary political agitation."[11] At the Winnipeg convention Stewart estranged his following by calling for the separation of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia. This early version of Partridge's Coalsamao so alarmed the convention that it quickly fell under the control of the Manitoba Rights League, a Liberal businessmen's organization.[12]

Such Liberal organizations as the Winnipeg Reform Association attempted to co-opt the leadership role of legitimate farmers' organizations. One circular letter widely distributed proclaimed that "The

only hope the people of the Province can reasonably have for the removal or modification of the oppressive tariff that grinds the farmers is in the accession to power of the Liberal party." It continued by supporting the concept of "self-government" and "self-management" of resources.

> The leaders of the Liberal Party in the Dominion have given evidence by their public utterances both in and out of Parliament that they warmly sympathize with the settlers of Manitoba in their demand that the Province shall enjoy equal rights with the other Provinces under Confederation and in their complaint against the mis-government that has burdened so unfairly the struggling of this country.[13]

The Winnipeg Convention nevertheless passed a Declaration of Rights before succumbing to the weakness inherent in its bipolar organization, divided as it was between business and farm interests. This was "the first Western Canadian agrarian platform."[14] It called for provincial rights to charter railways and control Crown Land, and demanded changes in the Municipal Act allowing local councils to build grain elevators, warehouses and mills. In 1883 duties on farm machinery had been raised from twenty-five per cent to thirty-three per cent; these tariffs were to be removed.[15] There was also the first of many demands that a Hudson Bay railway be built to guarantee an outlet for prairie wheat; this would become a crusade for Partridge in 1918. In short, the Declaration of Rights foreshadowed many planks in subsequent farmers' platforms.[16]

With the collapse of the Farmers' Union, the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Cooperative and Protective Union emerged to replace it on 5 December, 1883. However, "the Protective Union saw hope of economic

salvation through farmers shipping their own wheat to Ontario where the Union believed the market would be better owing to the lightness of the Ontario crop."[17] In December 1883 they bought members' wheat to ship east, paying ten to fifteen cents more per bushel than would have been paid by local grain dealers.[18] The Protective Union obtained a provincial charter in 1884, but "the grain marketing plan encountered opposition from Winnipeg businessmen, many of whom were grain dealers."[19] When on 25 May 1885, the organization defended the Metis resistance in Saskatchewan and threatened western secession, it collapsed under public criticism.

> Both of the early farmers' organizations failed in their objectives; both disappeared with barely a trace; and neither was truly agrarian as its membership included non-farmers. The protest organizations of the 1880's, however, were the first to identify and to agitate for the redress of agrarian grievances, and to advocate cooperation in the marketplace. Although unsuccessful, they pioneered the way for later farmers' movements.[20]

In 1885 the Deputy Minister of the Interior denounced the agrarian "agitators," blaming them for the decrease in western settlement. While overlooking the Riel Rebellion as a possible factor, he helped to successfully drive a wedge between the farmers' spokesmen and their followers.

> These persons took advantage of the partial failure of the crop of 1883 to thrust themselves to the front, and gave expressions to views which were not entertained by those for whom they professed to speak, but which, nevertheless, worked much harm to the country.[21]

Though many historians of the period seem to have considered this episode worthy of "passing notice" only,[22] or merely the precursor of the Patrons of Industry, it is more accurate to say that "their

agitation was a dress rehearsal for what was to follow."[23] Its influence was undoubtedly felt throughout the North-West, and the Qu'Appelle Vidette records that on 15 July 1886, a joint-stock elevator scheme was tried not far from Partridge's homestead, but noted that the North-West Territories Council lacked the power to incorporate it, so it fell through.[24] Though Partridge was at the time struggling to prove up his homestead during the worst drought in years, and was not directly involved in the political ferment of the time, such activities could scarcely escape his notice.

II

Paul W. Fox suggests that the first hundred years of Canadian federalism "has been characterized by an oscillation in the assertion of political power between the federal government and the provinces . . ."[25] During the 1880's this process led to increased provincial powers under the B.N.A. Act. It was aided by a series of decisions rendered by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council[26] and the emergence of such strong provincial leaders as Norquay, Fielding, Blair, Mowat and Mercier.[27] Western regional assertiveness, beginning in 1868 with Thomas Spence's Unilateral Declaration of Independence for Manitoba, and followed in 1869 with Riel's resistance to Canada's first intrusion into the area,[28] grew rapidly in the 1880's within this loosening federal framework. The growth of farmers' organizations in Manitoba during the period was merely one further step in this process.

In August 1882 the Nor'West Farmer and Home Journal was established in Winnipeg under the editorship of Ludwig Kribbs Cameron.[29] This was the first "radical" farmers' paper to appear in the Canadian West. Its first editorial sounded the clarion call of western farmers; "Complaints are still made of extortion in freight on the part of the C.P.R. This should not be."[30] That winter the paper gave prominent space to Goldwin Smith, who propounded what he would call "the Canadian question" in 1891.

> Does anyone believe that a great country like the North-West will remain under the political Dominion of a small country like Canada, from which it is separated by an inland, or by a wilderness which, even when a road is made through it, will be as estranging as any sea?
>
> The distance is too great of (sic) administration, while unfortunately it is not too great of (sic) intrigue and jobbery.[31]

In 1881 the C.P.R. had received its charter, and extensive properties and powers in the west. The following year the Ogilvie Milling Company had built a large mill in Winnipeg. Although called the Nor'West Farmer and Manitoba Miller after 1883, in an effort to represent both the farming and milling interests, the paper continued to voice its opposition to inequities in the grain trade. An editorial in December 1884 praised the C.P.R. for constructing an extensive elevator system, "but that the C.P.R. should compel the farmer to pay the Ogilvies two and a half cents per bushel for storage of every bushel of grain shipped, is coming at it a little too strong." Cameron observed that this fee was charged whether the farmer used the facilities or not, and suggested that it would be more convenient to unload directly from his wagon into the boxcars, rather than use the company

elevators.

> But up steps the iniquitous monoply and says: 'of course you can do this if you like, but you have to pay the two and a half cents per bushel to us all the same!' Was anything ever more ridiculous?

Cameron concluded by supporting the establishment of farmers' "protective unions" to meet this threat; it would be more violently criticized by the T.G.G.A. two decades later.[32]

By late 1885 the radical, populist, "peoples press," as exemplified by the Nor'West Farmer had become considerably more moderate in its criticisms. That paper passed into the editorial hands of William Clark and became essentially apolitical, while other papers were taken over by the Liberal party and assumed a new bias.[33]

The fate of the first agrarian post-Confederation uprising in the west would therefore seem to bear out V. C. Fowke's contention that the pressure of organized farm groups was "of negligible importance in shaping the agricultural policy of Canadian government."[34] Indeed, tariffs actually increased during this period. Although discredited by what was considered too radical leadership, and generally taken over by the Liberal party, these organizations planted the seeds of future protest. Several instances of incipient cooperative organization, and acknowledgements of western grievances, occurred after 1885. In that year, the first cooperative store opened in Winnipeg.[35] In 1887 Manitoba passed a law to facilitate formation of cooperatives, and in 1890 the North-West Territories passed a law to encourage formation of cooperative creameries. A limited response to western concerns occurred in September 1886 when several of John A. Macdonald's cabinet ministers

toured the west in response to Premier Norquay's railway-building endeavors. However, the only significant outcome of this tour was the establishment in November 1886 of experimental agricultural stations in Ottawa, and at several locations in the west including Brandon and Indian Head.[37]

The year 1885 also symbolized a significant change in that it was at this time that summerfallowing was introduced into western agricultural practice[38] through the efforts of the experimental stations. Summerfallowing, the development of early maturing wheat strains, and increasing settlement gradually provided the basis for an agricultural revolution during the Laurier period. With the advent of greater prosperity, increased immigration under Clifford Sifton's guidance, and wider application of mechanized agricultural methods, the west frequently overtaxed the marketing and transportation systems upon which it relied. In short, the farmers' "revolution" which flared up once more in 1898 with James Moffatt Douglas' private members bill to regulate the grain trade derived directly from the technological and agricultural revolution which preceded it. This paradox was symbolized most strikingly by the 1901 blockade, which saw the system glutted with a bumper crop, and too few boxcars available to transport it east to market.

## III

Harold Innis describes the history of North American agrarian protest as "a succession of waves of organization, legislation, and

adjustment . . ."[39] In 1891 the next wave in this succession struck Manitoba and the North-West when the Patrons of Industry began organizing near Portage la Prairie. At the Brandon convention on 24 February 1892, it was boasted that there were well over one hundred lodges throughout the West. Several of these were located in the Territories.[40] This rapid growth was matched by equally rapid transformation into a unique western movement. John Archer thus describes the Patrons as a direct extension of the defunct Farmers' Union, "modelled on the Ontario counterpart but emphasizing different policies."[41] L. A. Wood recalled that when a common Patrons' platform was finally promoted in 1895, western lodges were more concerned with planks which bore directly upon regional problems, and added several uniquely western proposals. The western Patrons were more inclined to support free trade than were eastern adherents; a government-operated Hudson Bay railway for prairie grain was advocated, as was female suffrage, prohibition and use of ballot boxes in the west; land grants to railway companies, use of railway passes by elected representatives and reintroduction of a separate school system were condemned.[42] Harald Patton called these "vague and spacious declarations."[43]

However, these developments form a vital link in the intermittent development of western regionalism. More significantly, the Patrons of Industry reintroduced cooperative principles into the Canadian West in the mid-1890's. While their outlook quickly became localized, this trend toward cooperative enterprise was to have the most lasting influence, as exemplified in such farmer-owned operations as the Grain

Growers' Grain Company. Several Patrons bought and operated a grain elevator at Boissevain, Manitoba, and in 1892, the Patrons' Commercial Union began business at Portage la Prairie, operating an extensive mail-order distribution agency from Winnipeg. Under C. W. Graham[44] it sold farm implements, binder twine and general farm supplies. In 1894 the company handled over a half million pounds of binder twine at seven and one-quarter cents per pound on credit. Such cooperative efforts outlasted the political arm of the Patrons, surviving into the twentieth century.[45]

The Patrons of Industry were a brief but spectacular chapter in western agrarian history. By 1895 they had over fifty thousand Canadian members, three thousand of whom were members of three hundred and thirty western lodges established by the American Patrons movement. In Eugene Forsey's phrase, they "grew even faster than the Grange, but declined faster still."[46]

There were several reasons for this decline. One was the immediate and concerted response of the entrenched beneficiaries of the status quo. Charles Herbert Mackintosh, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, helped marshall this reaction. In 1894 he wrote to Prime Minister Sir John Thompson:

> I am glad to say that the settlers here are tractable and reasonable, and that the newspapers are prepared to do what is fair. It is important that I see them all and arrange for the publication of such editorials as promise to bring the hotheads back to their senses.[47]

More important than such intervention however, was the destruction of the party after entering politics directly during the 1896

federal election. In 1894 Patrons were elected to the Ontario legislature, but found that when they distorted "the simple symmetry of the two-part system" they met the fate of "a flock of sheep between two packs of wolves . . ."[48] During the 1896 election the Patrons ran in twenty-six ridings, but won only two.[49] In the west the decline was hastened by internal wrangling among the leaders reminiscent of the earlier Farmers' Unions.[50] Entry into politics in 1896 destroyed the Patrons, and the American Populists, leaving among farm leaders "an abiding prejudice against political action."[51] Patton notes that it "served to demonstrate the disruptive tendencies arising from the assumption of business undertakings by protective or propagandist organizations."[52] This lesson was won at great emotional cost to western farmers. The subsequent widespread aversion to direct political activism would later create an ambivalent attitude toward E. A. Partridge and his Grain Growers' Grain Company among the farmers to whom he looked for support. Following the failure of the Partridge Plan in Manitoba in 1911, these suspicions seem to have been vindicated, and more cautious approaches were initiated. Indeed, such basic ambivalence seems to have affected Partridge himself, impelling him to increasingly avoid the humdrum organizational work, and embrace a more educative and visionary role. Divided feeling toward partisan political involvement remained an additional legacy of the Patrons of Industry, especially as it affected wavering farmer support for the Patridge Plan in later years.

The Patrons thus left several lasting effects among western

farmers, although these were largely regional in scope. As V. C. Fowke argues, the pressure of organized farm groups had been of negligible importance in shaping the federal agricultural policy.[53] As proof he cites the refusal of eastern industrial and political interests to implement the Patrons' demand for reduced tariffs on farm implements. While initiation of the Crows Nest Pass freight rate agreement in 1898, and a series of measures undertaken in response to grain commissions after 1899, would challenge this observation, on the whole defeats were more common than not at the federal level.[54] W. L. Morton adds that "the slight effect of the Patrons movement and its collapse" indicate that western agriculture "if not prosperous, was also not desparate."[55] It should be noted however, that the great sense of grievance in 1901 was initiated precisely by the thwarted prosperity resulting from inadequate transportation systems.

It has been suggested that E. A. Partridge was associated with the Patrons, although this is uncertain. The immediate, limited successes of the movement, such as gaining a farmers' representative on the grain standards board,[56] encouraged the farmers of Assiniboia. More importantly, the legacy of cooperative idealism, and the sharp demands of partisan political involvement, certainly impressed Partridge, and would mark his subsequent actions.

## IV

The final, and most significant, manifestation of Patron strength in the North-West Territories was the election of the Reverend James

Moffat Douglas as an Independent Liberal in 1896. A Scottish Presbyterian minister, he became a missionary to central India between 1876 and 1882, later held charges at Brandon and Moosomin, and retired in 1893 to farm. As a spokesman for agrarian discontent, he represented Assiniboia East from 1896 until 1900, when he was appointed to the Senate.[58] With Frank Oliver and Wilfrid Laurier, Douglas, as a Patron-Liberal, was one of three Liberals elected federally in the West in 1896. During that election the separate schools question predominated, and other issues were relegated to secondary status.[59] Douglas and J. K. McInnis, editor of the Regina Standard, and Patron-Liberal candidate in Assiniboia West, apparently represented the widespread opposition to introduction of separate schools.[60]

Following his election, the simmering discontent of the region became more serious. By this time, grain production was "the dominant business in western Canada." This was reflected by the evolution of the primary elevator system, which by 1900 included 454 elevators holding 12.8 million bushels, in addition to numerous flat warehouses.[61] After 1881 the Ogilvie and Bawlf mills were built at Gretna and Winnipeg respectively. These formed the nucleus for an extensive system of elevators which grew up in response to the solicitations of the C.P.R.[62] The C.P.R. lacked the financial resources in 1881 to expand into this area.[63] Free leases on railway sidings were offered to companies prepared to build grain elevators on the model already common in the United States; such elevators had capacities of over twenty-five thousand bushels and possessed cleaning and elevating machinery powered by

gasoline or steam. In return the railway promised such operators that they would not accept grain loaded from flat warehouses or from farmers' wagons, if an elevator were located nearby.[64] Lack of competition led to abuses. Most common were complaints of excessive dockage and short weights.

> Special bins for storing grain were not available in many cases, and farmers who wished to store grain were compelled to place it in bins with other grain. Since elevators were not required to guarantee delivery of the same grain as that taken in . . . farmers complained that, in some instances, the grain loaded out for their account was of lower grade than that which they had delivered to the elevator. The charge for receiving, elevating, cleaning, and loading was 1½ cents per bushel. Many farmers preferred to load their own grain directly from their wagons into cars, thus saving the elevator charges, although by doing this they were subject to the cost of freight on screenings if their grain was unclean.[65]

Thus by 1898 two systems of grain delivery were in competition. Many farmers still relied upon the old labour-intensive method whereby grain was bagged in heavy cotton sacks costing thirty cents each. These would be transferred to the warehouse or elevator and dumped manually into hoppers, until the introduction of large, open "grain tanks" in later years. The farmer would receive a grain-cheque in exchange, negotiable at local banks and stores.[66] However, as W. C. Clark later observed, increased western productivity was rapidly making such methods obsolete. Frank Peavey's "Yankee ingenuity" allowed gravity to alleviate much physical labour, for while "it formerly required roughly a day to load a car from a wagon or from a flat warehouse without loading machinery, a car can be loaded from an elevator in fifteen minutes."[67] Ironically, therefore, the monopolistic characteristics and subsequent inequities of the emergent grain handling system forced farmers into an

essentially retrogressive position. They increasingly resisted a system which should have benefited them most.

On 14 February 1898 a two-pronged attack was opened upon what had come to be called "a syndicate of syndicates." This monopoly of grain companies, according to R. L. Richardson, editor of the Winnipeg Tribune, "meets in its little room in Winnipeg, each morning, and decides what price they propose, in their majesty, to allow the farmer for his wheat." This group sent out one price quotation to each major centre, and the buyer who received it notified others, so that "no one buyer at any station will pay more than the price which has been decided upon by this clique in Winnipeg."[68] James Douglas had preceded Richardson in denouncing the syndicate. Introducing a bill in the Commons, he disclosed the arrangement between the C.P.R. and elevator owners first made known through Richardson's editorials the previous year.[69] This combination had allegedly cost the Manitoba farmers alone over a million dollars.[70] Douglas was, as R. D. Colquette noted, "the first (Western) voice to be raised in that august chamber urging reform in the grain trade."[71] He charged in the Commons that "under this agreement the producer is absolutely in the hands of this combine which is known to exist."[72] In consequence he introduced a bill "to regulate the shipping of grain by railway companies in Manitoba and the North-West Territories." The bill would grant farmers the legal right to load railway cars from flat warehouses or loading platforms.

Douglas' 1898 private members' bill is often described as "the first shot in the long battle for the rights of the grain grower."[73]

However, it was initially met with disinterest in the House, and no one, "not even Douglas himself," regarded it as being of historic significance.[74] The bill was casually referred to the Railway Committee of the House of Commons, presumably to die a quiet, albeit natural death. However, A. G. Blair, recently appointed Minister of Railways, took a personal interest in the bill. Although associated with the federal Liberal party, Blair, as Premier of New Brunswick from 1883 to 1896, had been one of the principal architects of growing regional self-expression. He found the evidence of collusion distasteful, and "dug up a clause in the Railway Act which he interpreted to mean that a railway company could not legally refuse cars to farmers."[75] The C.P.R. therefore quickly pledged itself to provide cars for farmers, subject to supply of cars and dependent upon continued preferential treatment for elevators. This privilege was only of advantage to farmers who lived close to railways, who were able to load their grain within twenty-four hours, after which demurrage charges began to accumulate. In addition, many points lacked loading platforms. Therefore, as H. S. Patton notes, "If a farmer obtained a car, it was by favor of the company, not by virtue of an enforceable right."[76]

Douglas responded to the inadequacy of the C.P.R. offer by re-introducing a similar bill in the next session. This bill called for the appointment of a government grain inspector to supervise the movement of wheat from country shipping points to the terminals. The resultant debate was acrimonious, and prompted the Laurier administration to appoint a committee, which also bogged down in heated debate.

During this time the western representatives grew increasingly cohesive in their opinions. The committee approved the appointment of a grain supervisor, but the remainder of the bill was dropped. However, a Royal Commission on the Shipment and Transportation of Grain in Manitoba and the North-West Territories was appointed.

The Royal Commission was chaired by Justice E. J. Senkler of St. Catherines. The three remaining Commissioners were all from Manitoba; F. W. Sirett of Glendale, William Lothian, of Pipestone, and C. C. Castle, of Foxton. When Justice Senkler died during the proceedings, he was replaced by a western representative, A. E. Richards of Winnipeg. During the winter of 1899-1900 hearings were held throughout the west. The resulting report concluded that

> . . . a standard elevator operated at the price of 1½c per bushel (the present rate charged for handling, cleaning and giving 15 days' free storage) and at which no grain bought by the owners is handled, would require to be filled three times in each season to make it a profitable investment to the party erecting and working it.[77]

Although conceding this economic basis for the protested collusion, the Report acknowledged the "lack of competition between buyers" and that "the elevator owners have had it in their power to depress prices below what in our opinion farmers should realise for their grain."

> We consider, therefore, that the proper relief from the possibility of being compelled to sell under the value, and of being unduly docked for cleaning, is only to be had by giving the fullest obtainable freedom in the way of shipping and selling grain.[78]

As a result of the Senkler Commission the Manitoba Grain Act was passed in 1900. This coincided with a federal election, where Patron votes, and disaffected western votes generally, might prove

important. The recommendations of the Commission were largely followed. Administration of the act was placed in the hands of a Warehouse Commissioner whose headquarters were at Winnipeg. He would function "as an attorney-general for the grain growers."[79] The first Warehouse Commissioner, C. C. Castle, had investigated the Minnesota grain trade; to some extent the Manitoba Grain Act was modelled after that State's Railroad and Warehouse Commission Act.

The Grain Act "not only improved at a single step a far-reaching system of regulation of railways and elevators in the interests of grain growers, but also provided for a permanent administrative officer to whom farmers might forward complaints directly." It was, in short, "a veritable agrarian Magna Charta."[80] Railway companies were require to provide cars to farmers without discrimination, and were to provide standard loading platforms, where written applications from ten or more farmers living within twenty miles of the nearest shipping point were approved by the Commissioner. The railway would build these at its expense, and they would be used by farmers free of charge. Furthermore, farmers could take twenty-four hours to load their allotted car, and the signatures of ten or more farmers living within forty miles of the shipping point would require the provision of a three thousand bushel flat warehouse, where five days could be taken by a farmer to fill his bin, thus allowing him to preserve the identity of his grain. An elaborate system of receipts guaranteed mutual agreement on the standard of grain shipped, and a farmer could require a sample of grain be chosen in his presence, and shipped to the Chief Inspector in

Winnipeg, if he were dissatisfied with the dockage given. Regular reports by country and terminal elevators were required to make surveillance of the system's operations more efficient. Perhaps most important was the fact that, unlike its Minnesotan model, the Manitoba Grain Act was federal, and its provisions interprovincial, thus hindering any combination of elevator companies in unprotected areas.[81]

Passage of the Manitoba Grain Act raised farmers' expectations throughout the west.[82] Among the grain growers "it provided a measure of hopefulness and encouragement to farmers that at last they were receiving outside recognition of their problems."[83] However, events quickly led to a weakening of its promised effects. Grain Act regulations caused elevator firms to "close their ranks and combine more effectively for their own protection."[84] The Senkler Commission had noted that of 447 elevators, 206 were owned by the three major elevator companies, fifty by Lake of the Woods Milling Company, forty-five by the Ogilvie Milling Company, 120 by individual millers and grain dealers, and only twenty-six by Farmers' Elevator Companies.[85] This situation remained the same a year later, and the elevator "interests" formed the core of the North-West Elevator Association, which soon became "a challenge to a multitude of unorganized farmers scattered over the prairie."[86] By 1901 the C.P.R. was ignoring the Grain Act, and providing cars to the elevators almost exclusively. This was explained as being due to several factors beyond the railway's control, among which was the cost of its embarking upon a project to double track between Winnipeg and Thunder Bay, the only rail link between the

west and the lakehead. Increased settlement and wheat production quickly stretched the line's capacity to the saturation point.[87] In 1901 a bumper crop of 63,000,000 bushels was harvested, more than double the yield in 1900.[88] The supply of cars available could not keep pace with the demands, with the effect, in T. D. Regehr's phrase, of "leaving the farmers beside their piles of grain to fume about the evils of monopoly and the inadequacies of government regulatory legislation."[89]

The famous "blockade of 1901" quickly led to a resurgence of farmers' protest organizations. The most influential of these was the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, established at Indian Head, Assiniboia, in the fall of that year. When at the close of navigation over thirty million bushels of wheat remained on farms or in improvised granaries along railway sidings, and the unfair allotment of cars became obvious, farmers gathered to hold indignant protests. At Indian Head alone, 125 makeshift granaries held the unmarketed harvest.[90]

## V

When the T.G.G.A. was established in late 1901, it drew many men into its organization who would figure prominently in the subsequent phases of "the agrarian revolt" in western Canada. W. R. Motherwell and E. A. Partridge were most prominent among these. Although both men are usually described in most accounts of the period as having emerged in 1901, their political activism predates the T.G.G.A. by a decade in

Motherwell's case, and by at least five years in Partridge's case. Indeed, there is every indication that Partridge was eventually drawn into a more active role by Motherwell. Their affiliation was close during the 1890's, although they would become increasingly antipathetic, a process culminating in Partridge's prominent role in Motherwell's defeat during the 1919 by-election.

In 1891 Motherwell made his first "abortive foray into politics," as an organizer of a meeting in Fort Qu'Appelle to choose a candidate to oppose William Sutherland, sitting member for the North Qu'Appelle electoral district in the Territorial Legislative Assembly. Sutherland, a member of the Board of Education, supported Haultain in his opposition to separate schools, and was strongly supported by the "Orange-tinged Qu'Appelle Vidette."[91] Motherwell declined to stand as a candidate himself, claiming that through mishandling certain districts, including North Qu'Appelle, had been overlooked. Thus we would not be representative of the constituency. This stand was roundly applauded by the Vidette.[92] In 1894 Motherwell also participated in the general election to select the new Legislative Assembly. He was among several local constituents who made public speeches critical of Sutherland's handling of public works expenditures. On 24 October he was nominated, with Sutherland and G. F. Guernsey, and made an additional speech critical of "boodling" in the area. This speech, referred to by the Vidette as "Smotherwell's Soliloquy," won him local support, buy apparently lost him the election, as he received only seventy-one votes. Nevertheless, Motherwell led a group in demanding an official

investigation, and in 1895, Premier Haultain was appointed special commissioner to inquire into the spending irregularities. Although Motherwell accused Haultain of procrastination, and threatened to "refer the whole subject to the Dominion government and ask for a thorough enquiry on their part," the Haultain report confirmed the charges. While personally exonerating Sutherland, it led to his resignation.[93]

As a result of William Sutherland's resignation a by-election was called for 1 December, 1896. Although the Fort Qu'Appelle banker and businessman D. H. McDonald expected to be returned with ease, rural demand for a public meeting to nominate a popular farmer's candidate resulted in a gathering of sixty-nine local electors at the town hall on 14 November. John Miller, Motherwell, and six others were nominated. E. A. Partridge was secretary, and a Motherwell supporter. He recorded that eight names were presented, two of which stayed for a second ballot. "McDonald disavowed any connection to the meeting. On leaving he suggested his following vote for the least formidable antagonist."[94] Motherwell's platform consisted of three points, which he published after his successful nomination. These included a plea not "to perpetuate the painful past in regard to the expenditure of public money in the district," and a call for "an energetic though fair opposition to the present Executive." More importantly, he asked:

> Has the time not come when the great agricultural interests of this district demand such recognition and representation of their views in the Legislature as their importance justify?[95]

Charges that Motherwell packed the meeting were met by Partridge,

who argued that only three at the meeting in Fort Qu'Appelle, including Motherwell, hailed from Balcarres, and concluded that the majority favoured "having a farmer (of their choice) to run as a candidate."[96] Indeed, Motherwell appealed to the electors "as one whose interests are entirely the same as your own, and believe that in justice to yourselves you will determine that the Farmers' Candidate shall be your next representative in the Assembly."[97]

The Motherwell-McDonald debates were poorly attended due to cold weather, and the electioneering was carried out principally through the press. On election day, Motherwell was badly defeated by McDonald. Thereafter he "abandoned any personal political ambitions for a time, although in Dominion politics he appears to have supported James M. Douglas more or less actively."[98] Although no direct evidence exists, Partridge probably supported Douglas' Patrons platform in 1895 and 1896 as well. In early February 1895 Douglas addressed the Patrons at Saltcoats, a town with which Partridge had recent connections as a teacher. Probably Partridge imbibed some of Douglas' famous rhetoric at that meeting, as the farmers' advocate attacked the National Policy, and called for tariff reform.[99]

Clearly then Partridge's political involvement begins in 1896, and probably occurred under the guidance of local agrarian reform advocates, such as W. R. Motherwell, and Patrons advocates affiliated with the Liberal party, such as James Moffatt Douglas. The Liberal party still filled the role of opposition in most farmers' minds, although this would gradually change following Laurier's election, when

many of those western free trade advocates who had supported the Liberal party would feel themselves abandoned. Edward Porritt, whose Revolt in Canada Against the New Feudalism (1911), would strongly influence Partridge's own political philosophy and writing, wrote that

> . . . for all practical purposes the power of democracy was for the time being vanquished by the betrayal of 1896, when Parliamentary institutions and the party system broke down as regards any real administrative services to the people of the Dominion.[100]

After 1896, Motherwell and Partridge would pursue divergent paths. Motherwell became the first Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan's new Liberal government after 1905, and was federal Minister of Agriculture from 1921 to 1930. This Partridge viewed as a betrayal of farmers' interests in light of the Liberals' acceptance of the basic tenets of the National Policy.[101]

Paul Stevens observes, "National unity in Laurier's view was primarily a problem of social and religious harmony. Although not oblivious to other disruptive issues, he was more conscious of racial than of economic or social division."[102] While Motherwell would attempt to work within the dominant two-party structure, Partridge became increasingly non-partisan following 1896, his criticisms of Laurier's government reaching their culmination in the authorship of the Canadian Council of Agriculture platform in 1909, and his leadership of the "siege of Ottawa," in 1910, which played a significant role in Laurier's defeat in 1911. However, in 1901 Motherwell and Partridge both could find common grievances against which to protest. The T.G.G.A. provided the formal platform for their cause, and the culmination of an early association which was longer and more significant that is generally known.

Chapter IV:

## POLITICAL AWARENESS 1901-1904

The year 1896 is frequenty chosen as a watershed date in Canadian history and in western Canadian history specifically. This results from numerous valid political, economic and social arguments. However, the period between 1896 and 1913 is almost as frequently represented as one of great western prosperity. Kenneth McNaught writes that during the Laurier years "the east-west economic system worked with astonishing success."[1] Such an observation is quite accurate, when viewed from the national perspective. Almost all western Canadian farmers, however, regarded the "east-west economic system" resulting from two decades of the National Policy as inefficient and iniquitous.[2] This distinctive western regional perspective was fully delineated by 1900, the result of nearly a century of specifically western social and economic evolution.

> Resentful of their treatment at the hands of the East and Ottawa, westerners had rejected the eastern interpretation of their place within the nation and had looked to the land around them for a new definition of their role. In so doing they developed all the necessary prerequisites for a strong sense of regional identity. They had begun to define, for themselves, their place within the Canadian nation and to use the same perspective to define the role of the Canadian nation within the world. More importantly, that definition of Canada and the West was being put into western terms. The West was no longer merely an adjunct of the East or an annexed land; it was, westerners felt, something more than 'a new Upper Canada,' and something better.[3]

Such a frame of mind found it increasingly difficult to

accommodate itself to the usual channels of discontent. Edgar McInnis notes that the "broad internal policies of the Laurier government illustrated the permanence - indeed, in certain aspects, the rigidity - of the factors that conditioned the lines of Canadian development."[4] This tendency increased following the "betrayal of 1896," despite passage of the Manitoba Grain Act. Although heralded as an agrarian Magna Carta, the Grain Act of 1900 pointed out the inefficiency of the east-west grain marketing system. As. D. J. Hall argues, several years of agrarian protest would be required before significant changes in that system were won under the Manitoba Grain Act of 1903 and the Grain Inspection Act of 1904.[5] Indeed, these gains would not become fully consolidated until passage of the Canada Grain Act of 1912, amid a national peak of agrarian protest.[6] In the meantime more direct, extra-parliamentary farmers' protests were increasingly carried out through proliferating grain growers' associations at the local and territorial level.

## II

S. D. Clark argues that Canada, deprived of the climatic violence of an American revolution, subsequently experienced an attenuated form of the same process. The "American revolution in Canada" therefore manifested itself in a series of social, political and commercial permutations, one giving rise to the other.

> Liberation as a cause died with the nineteenth century; the race of steel across the continent settled the lines of political sovereignty in North America and by 1900 only perhaps in the Klondike could the political liberation of the Canadian

> population come near to being a live issue. But the forces underlying the Social Credit uprising in Alberta in 1935 were not vastly different from the forces underlying the Riel Rebellion on the North Saskatchewan in 1885, and neither of these uprisings differed in any fundamental way from the uprisings in Lower and Upper Canada in 1837.[7]

This process, sharpened by a growing sense of regional identity based on common grievance, entered a new phase in 1901, with the establishment of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association. The sense of outrage among farmers in Assiniboia District was particularly acute in that year, and some threatened violence.[8] The situation at this time was described by one early settler who later recalled that the grain elevators at Indian Head "were busy all the time." She added that her grandfather "would leave home at one or two in the morning in order to be early in the lineup for the elevator the next day."[9] Such a system left time for farmers to discuss their problems, and frequently this intensified feelings of frustration at the shortcomings in the grain handling system. In Minto, Manitoba, farmers seized Canadian National Railway cars, leading to violence between the farmers and railwaymen. In Elva, Manitoba, farmers pirated cars to Carberry and filled them with their grain.[10] W. R. Motherwell shared this grievance, and later recalled hauling his grain twenty-five miles to Indian Head, or twenty miles to Sintaluta, each load taking a day and two nights to deliver to the railway. He later suggested to Moorhouse that "the widespread resentment of the farmers was not based so much upon the sacrifice of the grain taken in toll as upon the fact that it was taken after the long cruel haul . . ."[11] Motherwell later recalled that he saw the necessity for an organization based on recent

precedents set by stock breeders, as an alternative to violent protest. Such comments as "It's bullets we want and guns that are needed!" and "No, the time for organization is gone" met early attempts to organize the grain growers. In 1916 Motherwell claimed "There are very few today who know how near the people were to resorting to violence at that time instead of laying the foundation of the Grain Growers' Association."[12]

The widespread discontent led John Millar and John Sibbold to call a protest meeting at Indian Head. This attracted fifty angry farmers but no concrete proposals originated there.[13] It was in response to this violent meeting that Motherwell and another Abernathy farmer, Peter Dayman, called another meeting. This seems to have been an impromptu attempt to provide an alternative to a potentially violent protest.

The meeting was called following a casual gathering at Motherwell's Abernathy home; Motherwell later recalled that Peter Dayman had arrived, and "I don't know how we happened to be there, but we just took a piece of paper from an ordinary pad and I drafted a letter to send to a number of farmers from Wolseley to Qu'Appelle . . ."[14] This impulsive communication led to a meeting at Indian Head on 18 December to discuss possible remedies for the grain blockade. On that date Premiers Roblin and Haultain were meeting to date the boundary between Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

> There was a large crowd there. I took advantage of the presence of this crowd; their meeting was at night and we called our meeting for the afternoon. Instead of about a dozen farmers there, as I had expected, the movement got noised abroad with

> the result that we had from sixty to seventy-five farmers there in addition to a number of public men.[15]

Due to his astute approach to the organization of his movement, Motherwell was appointed provisional president and John Millar was appointed provisional secretary of a significant, vocal Territorial Grain Growers' Association. Although the original letter was sent to only fourteen local farmers[16] the movement almost immediately assumed broad regional importance. Angus MacKay, universally admired for his work with the Dominion Experimental Farms, backed Motherwell in his bid for leadership; this was confirmed following a second organizational meeting in Indian Head on 2 January 1902, when Motherwell was elected president of the T.G.G.A. at the first convention.[17]

This convention had been called for one month following the initial organizational meeting to make maximum use of the widespread antipathy towards the railways. The T.G.G.A. resolution drafted on 1 February demanded amendments to the Manitoba Grain Act forcing railway companies to build loading platforms immediately upon approval by the warehouse commissioner, and that these companies provide grain cars to be loaded directly from the farmers' wagons "irrespective of there being an elevator, warehouse or loading platform at such station or not." More important than these demands was the demand that railway agents provide grain cars to farmers in the order in which they were requested, to avoid discriminatory treatment of any individual.[18] These demands were incorporated directly into the amended Manitoba Grain Act of May 1902, through the direct intervention of Clifford Sifton.[19] During a western tour to electioneer for a by-election, Sifton, although

formerly unsympathetic towards the agrarian demands, "was left in no doubt that the blockade was the political question of the day."[20] By eliciting this abrupt change, and securing a valuable ally within the Liberal Party, the T.G.G.A. had won an early victory which guaranteed its continued political significance.

The immediate success of the T.G.G.A. led to the rapid spread of grain growers sub-associations. Motherwell and Matthew Snow aided J. S. Scallion in organizing the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association. By the spring of 1902 thirty-eight local grain growers' associations had been formed.[21] Partridge established the Sintaluta Grain Growers' Association at this time, as well as attending the early organizational meetings and conventions. However, he remained a relatively obscure delegate until a later date.

In November 1902 the C.P.R. once again ignored the newly won rights under the Grain Act, distributing cars by fiat rather than by the car-order book provisions of May, 1902. At the second convention, Motherwell warned in his presidential address that the T.G.G.A., "finding nothing could be done with the C.P.R. in a friendly way, had revolved to bring action against them."[22] At the first convention, in February, the atmosphere had been relatively calm. The editor of the Nor'West Farmer praised the resolutions committee.

> Though all were feeling the effects of the blockade, yet the discussions were not rabid; everybody seemed prepared to meet this issue face to face and discuss it calmly, seeking for a fair solution of the difficulties rather than waste words talking about present conditions.[23]

By 4 December, 1902, the calls for legal action were common, and heated

by a renewed emotionalism. However, as Motherwell later recalled, "that this young organization would actually contemplate legal proceedings against such a huge organization as the C.P.R. looked like such a big joke that it was unheeded."[24] Indeed, Patton indicates that the C.P.R. precipitated the contest to test the validity of the hastily enacted provisions of May 1902.[25]

By late 1902, Motherwell advised the T.G.G.A. that the Grain Act clause governing car distribution was "disregarded at every shipping point . . . in the West."[26] He added that of sixty-seven cars "spotted" at Sintaluta, only seven were assigned to farmers, the remainder being provided to elevators.[27] In response to this situation Motherwell and Peter Dayman travelled to Winnipeg, to meet R. W. Leonard of the C.P.R. Dayman remained in Winnipeg for some time, but received no satisfactory resolution to the problems. Motherwell noted that when Dayman returned from Winnipeg "we simply got out a standard form of information and complaint and notified the railway that we were going to take legal action at Sintaluta against the station agent and if we got results there, that we would take action against every railway agent in the Territories."[28] After placing a complaint before C. C. Castle, the Warehouse Commissioner, they entered action against A. V. Benoit, the Sintaluta agent.

The decision to try this case in Sintaluta was undoubtedly conditioned by several factors. It was quite clearly an outstanding example of C.P.R. intransigence with regard to the 1902 Grain Act amendment. More important, however, was the fact that Sintaluta was

the centre of the North-West Territories most highly organized and politicized regions. Near the birthplace of the T.G.G.A., its local association was run by the Partridge brothers. H. O. Partridge would be the presiding magistrate at the trial. There was some local resistance to Motherwell's plan, as farmers feared that a promised branch-line would be jeopardized.[29] However, on 28 November, 1902, C. C. Castle and a Justice Department representative, T. G. Mather, visited Sintaluta to investigate the T.G.G.A. complaint and recommended that a charge be laid.[30] The feeling seemed to be that "it was important to get something done in order to justify the new organization's existence."[31]

The trial was held in the Sintaluta public-school building, presided over by H. O. Partridge, and Magistrates Thompson of Indian Head and Magee of Wolseley. T. G. Mathers, later a Winnipeg Judge, was acting council on behalf of C. C. Castle, and the subsequent Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, James Aikens, as western solicitor for the C.P.R., represented Benoit. The specific charge contended that the two Sintaluta elevators had been given preferential call upon grain cars contrary to Grain Act provisions. Mathers demonstrated before a packed auditorium that cars had been diverted to the elevators by Benoit, leaving A. W. Annis, a local farmer, without transportation for his grain, although his application had predated theirs. W. W. Allen, another local farmer, had waited seven weeks for his car, although he had signed up early in the season, and eighty cars had been subsequently allotted by Benoit.[32] Evidence of breaches of the Grain Act were

conclusively proven, and Benoit was found guilty and fined fifty dollars on 6 December 1902. H. O. Partridge announced the unanimous decision.

The significance of the case was demonstrated by the avid, detailed coverage afforded it by the local, territorial and national press. Walter Scott and G. V. Bulyea were among the numerous observers to travel to Sintaluta.[33] The Sintaluta trial clarified the nature of the transportation system for some time, and finally won the rights only promised by the Manitoba Grain Act of 1900. As Hopkins Moorhouse notes, when Motherwell and J. B. Gillespie of the T.G.G.A. and McQuaig and R. C. Henders of the M.G.G.A. "went down to Ottawa to get some further amendments of the Grain Act, they got practically everything they asked for."[34] Although the decision was appealed, it was upheld by the Supreme Court.[35] Motherwell observed that "It was unnecessary to carry out threat of proceeding against every agent in the Territories" for as soon as the decision of the lower court was sustained by the higher, the C.P.R. behaved itself."[36] This legal clarification developed during "a revolution in the relationship between the Dominion government and the farmers of western Canada" between 1900 and 1904.[37] Together they led to the Manitoba Grain Act of 1903, and the Grain Inspection Act of 1904, which might more properly be termed the agrarian Magna Carta.[38] The growing discontent following "the betrayal of 1896" was therefore partially offset by the changes in attitude toward western farmers directed by Sifton; the "revolution" in fact facilitated the process whereby the federal

and provincial Liberal governments could to some extent co-opt the western protest movement. The very success of the T.G.G.A. and M.G.G.A. in achieving these reforms allowed certain agrarian leaders, notably Motherwell himself, to become convinced that reform could be achieved within the established party structure. The growing orientation of the T.G.G.A., and later the S.G.G.A., toward moderate political methods can probably be dated from the early victories of 1901-1903.

III

During the period 1901 to 1904 Edward Partridge was an active organizer for the newly formed T.G.G.A. His role remained peripheral, however, his brother assuming a much more public stance during the Sintaluta trial. Edward Partridge confined his activities more to local organization. The formal governmental organization for such local activities had existed in Qu'Appelle, South Qu'Appelle, Wolseley and Indian Head since the formation of rural municipalities there following the advent of the newly organized territorial government in 1883.[39] These proved too complex and costly except for those in South Qu'Appelle and Indian Head, which lasted throughout the territorial period.[40] Saltcoats, where Partridge taught for some time, early evolved a form of local organization reminiscent of the town meeting which encouraged local organization. All such organizational frameworks focused on the individual community. Influenced by them, Partridge appears to have confined his interests to Sintaluta, with

occasional yeoman service in by-elections, or grain growers' organization. His name does not appear prominently in a larger context, for example among the T.G.G.A. Directors, until 1904.[41]

During this period Partridge continued to farm and lead an active social life. In the winters the Partridges and the Railtons were avid curlers. For the winter of 1905-1906 David Railton was skip of the Sintaluta Curling Club, which also included Henry, Ira and Tom Partridge. Edward Partridge sometimes joined in.[42] The first Masonic Lodge was established in the North-West Territories in 1879.[43] When a Lodge was established at Indian Head in 1902, Edward Partridge joined, and remained a lifelong member. His older brother Henry was an early member of the Municipal Council in Indian Head, and secretary to the Sintaluta Grain Growers' Association, later becoming a director of the S.G.G.A. He was Secretary of the Curling Club "and active member of every social service reform movement the community knew."[44] His brothers Thomas and Ralph purchased the Wolseley Implements Company outlet in Sintaluta in March 1906, "and will carry on the trade as implements dealers there."[45] After marrying Mary Elizabeth Stephens about 1887 or 1888, Partridge's family commitments grew. Charles Grover was born in 1889, May Virginia in 1892, Harold in 1899, and Edna in 1901. His youngest daughter Enid May, with whom he would spend his last years, was born in 1908. Such activities and responsibilities occupied much of the Partridges time at the turn of the century.

Born in Ontario in 1868, Mary Stephens came out west with her

family in 1877, finally settling near Balcarres.[46] Edward Partridge taught briefly at Balcarres, and it was probably during this time that he met his future wife.[47] Tied to Sintaluta through proliferating family responsibilities, and under the influence of H. O. Partridge, Edward Partridge's loyalties and interests remained predominantly local until 1904.

When the third annual convention of the T.G.G.A. was held at the Oddfellow's Hall in Regina, Partridge, with J. Halford, W. Hall, and J. W. Bell, represented Sintaluta. Although the Regina Leader referred to him as A. E. Partridge, he quickly established himself within the organization, receiving an appointment to the Resolutions Committee, with R. S. Lake (chairman), J. R. Symons, W. R. Motherwell, William Noble and A. T. Hunter.[48] Motherwell later recalled that the third annual convention "in the capital city gave the movement an immense stimulus and publicity that was felt for years afterward."[49] Although Partridge was not known before the 1903 convention to a wide public, it seems clear that he must have distinguished himself there, since he would be trusted to lead a T.G.G.A. investigation of the Grain Exchange only one year later. Partridge's emergence onto a wider stage might also be explained by a comment delivered by Motherwell in a speech at the Regina Town Hall in April 1903. There he referred to the emergence of protest in the west during the 1890's among farmers who "began to get on their feet financially, and with more time at their disposal, began through the public press and public meetings to protest most vigorously against the exactions of the grain combine."[50]

It was during the first years of the new century that the Partridge family began to emerge from the early years of financial struggle, and could turn their hand toward other social and organizational activities.

IV

Partridge's role in the establishment of the Sintaluta Agricultural Society reflects the way in which he immersed himself in local affairs, and the way in which such interests faded after 1906, with the establishment of the Grain Growers' Grain Company. His signature was among fifty-one addressed to the Commissioner of Agriculture in Regina petitioning for the formation of that Society in June 1903, with his brother Henry and John, Major Bell, and David, Daniel and Ralph Railton.[51] The Deputy Commissioner replied to the effect that he had "informed Mr. H. O. Partridge that he had been appointed to take the necessary steps in connection with the organization of the Sintaluta Agricultural Society."[52] In his letter of appointment to Henry Partridge the Deputy Commissioner advised him "to call a meeting in connection with the organization of the Sintaluta Agricultural Society for the purpose of electing officers and transacting other necessary business."[53] This meeting was held 14 November in Albert Stauffer's office in Sintaluta. Henry Partridge, now a local celebrity following the widely publicized trial in 1902, was quickly appointed Chairman; he was subsequently elected the Society's first President by ballot, Daniel Railton and James Ewart becoming Vice-presidents. Edward Partridge was present also, and was elected to the Board of Directors,

where he moved the first by-law, (that the President and Vice-presidents form a committee to formulate by-laws).

Meetings were required to be held regularly so that the Society would be eligible for grants.[54] The Agricultural Institute meeting of 3 December 1904 was typical. Henry Partridge introduced three speakers, among them Angus McKay, who "gave description of varieties of wheat. Explained process of crossing wheats to form new varieties. Advised farmers to use Red Fife as he considered it more hardy. Spoke, of injuries done by frost and advised sowing the best wheat."[55] While Edward Partridge undoubtedly would have applauded the importance of such discussions, he was by this time becoming more concerned with broader issues, such as marketing. By this time it was well known that "no one raised a better crop of weeds than Ed Partridge," a pronouncement which was to enter Partridge family lore.[56] Although he remained on the Board of Directors in 1904, and his name remained on the members list until 1909, with Henry, John, Ira and John Thomas, his interests in the daily routine of farming faded rapidly after 1904. By contrast, H. O. Partridge was conducting clover and timothy breeding experiments by 1906. In 1911 Edward's son Charles Grover won the Society's second prize in the "Good Farming Competition." Charles was elected to the Board of Directors in 1908, a position which he held until his enlistment during the First World War.[57]

Under Henry Partridge's presidency the Agricultural Society became a focal point for Sintaluta's social life. Institute meetings were usually held in the Orange Hall, and were advertised with large,

elaborate bright orange posters. Speakers and topics were widely discussed. Experts were frequently sent by the Department of Agriculture to address the farmers. Grants awarded to the Sintaluta branch[58] indicate that it was one of the major Societies in the North-West Territories. An air reminiscent of the Chautaqua pervaded. However, in a time of social and political upheaval, Edward Partridge would certainly have seen this program as inadequate.

In 1906 Partridge formed the Grain Growers' Grain Company, and in 1907 lost his leg in a farm accident. These two considerations diverted his attention away from Sintaluta. However, on 14 December 1907 he returned, now a nationally known figure, to address the Society. John Bracken, as Saskatchewan Agriculture Inspector and Superintendent of Fairs and Farmers' Institutes, delivered a speech on "Wild Oats."[59] Partridge, or course, spoke on "The Marketing of Grain." In his report to the Department of Agriculture, the Society's Secretary, Al Quigley, noted:

> Both speakers choose (sic) very suitable subjects and received marked attention. There was considerable discussion particularly as to the best method of exterminating wild oats and altogether the meeting was very successful.[60]

The Society had no doubt renewed Partridge's faith in the narrowness of its outlook. However, after a lapse of a year, his name appeared once again on the members' list for 1907. His influence may have been felt somewhat during that year, when the constraints of his convalescence kept him closer to home. The "Director's Report" for the year notes its resolution to commence "the holding of meetings during the winter months for the discussion of agricultural topics

of general interest." Apparently however, Henry Partridge's address on 10 December 1910, on "Implements of Tillage," still held more interest. Albert Stauffer, the Secretary, noted in his report of the "Agricultural Extention Meeting,"[61] that it "brought out a full discussion on the subject and was full of interest." Indeed, he was called upon to repeat the lecture the following year. Edward Partridge apparently was not called upon to repeat his lecture at that forum however.

By 1904 Partridge had essentially rejected the local and regional organizations as inadequate to rectify farmers' recurrent problems. This rejection was not as complete as is sometimes suggested,[62] as his association with the T.G.G.A./S.G.G.A. was of long standing. Before he elaborated his plan for a farmer-owned cooperative marketing agency, he was chosen by the T.G.G.A. to be its representative in Winnipeg and it was this experience which led to the formation of the Grain Growers' Grain Company two years later.

In 1904 there was widespread dissatisfaction with the grading of grain, and the T.G.G.A. felt that farmers should gain a more concrete knowledge of the grading, handling and selling of grain.[63] This concern grew from a series of tests conducted by Dr. Robert Harcourt at the direction of the Commissioner of Agriculture during 1903 and 1904. These tests indicated that while a significant range of market prices existed for the several grades of wheat, the differences in "bread-making properties" was small. This confirmed western grain farmers' worst suspicions, and loud protest meetings were once more

held at Sintaluta.[64] Motherwell had outlined the next stage in the development of farmer protest in late 1903. While praising recent amendments of the Grain Act, he described it as still being "a matter largely of local concern between the producers, transportation companies and elevators as compared with the Inspection Act which determines the grades and stipulates in what condition our wheat product shall be placed before the British or other importer."

> In the past the Inspection Act has been enacted and amended largely if not entirely at the instance of the Grain Exchange, and naturally enough in their interests, as they could not be expected to have a special regard for either the producer or the importer.
>
> There is a general and well founded impression among producers that our grades are too high, and especially so in view of the great uncertainty that exists . . . as to whether the high standard is maintained to its destination. This, together with its attendant evil - the mixing and blending elevators at Winnipeg and elsewhere - are questions that demand our interested consideration, and organization is the only medium that we know of through which such question may be attended to affectually.[65]

Partridge had described the necessity for broader organization as early as 1902, in an address to the people of Sintaluta following the court battle there. He then coined the colourful image which would recur in later years in his various pamphleteering crusades.

> At present we are but pygmies attacking giants. Giants may compete with giants, pygmies with pygmies, but pygmies with giants, never. If we are to create a fighting force by cooperation of the workers to meet the giants created by the commercial cooperation of the owners, we have hardly started.[66]

Having toured Assiniboia with A. A. Perley to collect eight-bushel samples for Dr. Harcourt's tests at the Ontario Agricultural College in 1903, Partridge was well known to the point that he was

chosen as a farmers' representative to be sent to Winnipeg to observe the grading and general trading practices of the Grain Exchange.[67] The Sintaluta grain growers had petitioned the federal Department of Agriculture to send a representative to Winnipeg in 1904. W. H. Gaddes had filled the role of "commissioner" representing the T.G.G.A. for two weeks, but it was soon felt that a local farmer would be a more useful representative and advocate for the agricultural interests.[68] This decision was confirmed at the 1905 T.G.G.A. Convention.[69] Partridge was "to look after the grading of our cars and our interests generally."[70] Sintaluta farmers raised one hundred dollars in five-dollar donations to send Partridge to Winnipeg.[71] His message to his fellow farmers had been simple. Noting the great emphasis on the negative role of the C.P.R. in its dealing with western farmers, he said of such critics; "They've got the wrong party - its the Winnipeg Grain Exchange that's bleeding us. It's the Winnipeg Grain Exchange we should be looking at."[72]

On 7 January 1905 Partridge arrived in Winnipeg, and checked into a Main Street boarding house for a month. When he went to the Grain Exchange the following day he was not well received. George Edwards described the atmosphere as wholly unsympathetic.

> He was made to feel like a spy in the camp of an enemy. Even in the office of the chief grain inspector he was looked upon as a man meddling with something he was not supposed to know anything about. However, Ed being intelligent and sharp-sighted did secure considerable information, especially about the "goings-on" at the grain exchange.[73]

The Exchange, built in 1898 in the noisy, active business district behind City Hall on Princess Street, was the centre of incredible activity.[74] There was little time for an unofficial farmers'

representative. With the exception of the Chief Inspector, and a grain dealer named Tom Coulter, no one assisted Partridge in his investigation of the grading system.[75] He was quickly dubbed "that man Partridge," an epithet which entered the emergent agrarian hagiography. For his part, Partridge referred to the Exchange as "the house with closed shutters," an apt phrase which he would use to good effect in repeated speeches during the coming months.

VI

Although undergoing significant changes to its population, Winnipeg in 1905, when E. A. Partridge arrived to investigate the Grain Exchange, still represented an extension of Ontario business institutions. In 1884 groups of Liberal businessmen had replaced the distillers and land speculators who previously dominated the Winnipeg city council. Following the collapse of the 1881-1882 speculative boom, and subsequent civic bankruptcy, a new business reform coalition laid the foundations of more responsible municipal government. This development created a community of interests which strengthened itself and provided a formidable resistance to Partridge, and cooperative ventures generally, on the Grain Exchange two decades later.[76] As L. G. Thomas argues, the role of "privileged minorities" in the development of the Canadian west was significant.[77] P. L. McCormick cites 1904 as the year when "there appeared a disjunction between the quiet frontier of the mixed farmer and the more aggressive frontier of the grain farmer."

> This disjunction pointed out the differences in expectations and opportunities between the settlers with means and those possessing little capital . . . In 1904 the settler who could expect great social and economic mobility was the settler who possessed capital to begin with.[78]

The divergence between expectation and reality was especially galling to the farmer who found himself succumbing to the perceived inequities of the National Policy, and suffering beneath crushing mortgages.[79] The dangers of life in a marginal economy heavily dependent upon variables such as climate, were increased by the increasing acceptance of American attitudes toward the land. Thorstein Veblen described the American pattern in this way.

> Habitually and with singular uniformity the American farmers have aimed to acquire real estate at the same time that they have worked at their trade as husbandmen. And real estate is a matter of absentee ownership, an asset whose value is based on the community's need of this given parcel of land for use as a means of livelihood, and the value of which is measured by the capitalized free income which the owner may expect to come in for by holding it for as high a rental as the traffic in this need will bear. So the pioneering aim . . . has been for the pioneer-farmers . . . to come in for as much of a free income . . . as the law would allow; which has habitually worked out in the occupying . . . something more than they could well take care of.[80]

Partridge consistently criticized the prevalence of this attitude toward land ownership among western Canadian farmers, especially following the rapid expansion of acreages which occurred during the First World War. In 1925 he would oppose private ownership of land in all its forms. Such criticism frequently alienated the prosperous, acquisitive farmer whom Partridge attempted to convert to his views.

The availability of cheap land, the mythology of the "last best west," the influx of American and Ontarian farmers, and the very

nature of grain farming, acted in conjunction to create a dissatisfied, expansive petit bourgeois layer in prairie society. T. D. Regehr notes that "petit bourgeois ideals and prejudices permeated Saskatchewan society and politics. In their crudest form these ideals and prejudices expressed themselves in hostility to all monopolistic interests."[81] When Edward Partridge arrived at the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, he represented an emergent "influential minority," already having successfully flexed its political muscles in changing government attitudes toward grain marketing. This had been clearly established by a series of significant amendments to the Manitoba Grain Act. With the establishement of two new western provinces imminent, two new transcontinental railways promising new services and markets, many farmers felt that new organizations on a larger scale might possibly act as a more powerful voice for the western farmer. The frustration caused by two decades of disappointed expectations fueled Partridge's resentment. As W. R. Motherwell later recalled, "he became so incensed against the grain trade and so impressed with the idea that the farmers should go into a commercial grain commission venture themselves that he conceived the idea of an organization for that purpose, which venture developed into the Grain Growers' Grain Company."[82]

It was the emergence of such petit bourgeois class consciousness throughout the west which allowed the subsequent organizational developments which Partridge would spearhead,[83] although he would misread the nature of the dissatisfaction, and soon lose his support among this group.

Chapter Five:

"THE GADFLY OF FARMERS' POLITICS" 1904-1912

Partridge arrived in Winnipeg in 1905, the year chosen by W. L. Morton to demarcate between the colonial period and the agrarian period of western Canadian history.[1] While suggesting this periodization, Morton points out that the "agrarian element is continuous from 1872, when the Grange first appeared in Manitoba, and the utopianism (which succeeded the agrarian period in 1925) can also be detected from the beginnings of extensive settlement."[2] Nevertheless, in 1905 established and emergent groups, after a period of political and social contention, reached a new level of development and balance of power with the formation of two provincial governments in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

When responsible government had been achieved in 1897, the process had been the outcome of pragmatic concerns. North-West rights advocates, "while not unmindful of earlier struggles for responsible government, were more concerned with practical issues than with historic parallels; in general they adopted a practical rather than a doctrinaire approach in their contests with the federal government."[3] Senator A. A. Perley observed that "the people were, perhaps, rather impatient to have self-government while the population was so sparse, but still that was the opinion all over the country that we should have self-government"[4] Partridge was typical of this process in that there

exist no accounts of speeches for the last decades of the nineteenth century in which he addressed broad political issues. Generally he was more concerned with local reform issues at this time. His concerns were also frequently directly related to practical agricultural issues. Such grassroots agitation was indispensable in the development of subsequent political development, however.

While 1905 marks the transition to a new period in western Canadian history in several important ways, it was to be a transition characterized by bitter struggle. During the 1880's provincial powers had been significantly extended. However, with Laurier's election in 1896, "the flow of power began to reverse direction again . . ."[5] Tightening political control of the regions, especially the Canadian West, was extremely thorough and pervasive under Clifford Sifton's administration of the Interior Department.[6] Although perhaps inevitable at a time of economic recovery and federal bureaucratic growth, such tightened controls came at a time of rapid development in the west toward regional and group (e.g. grain growers) self-assertion. These parallel developments led inevitably to greater confrontation. By 1904 the average wheat yield was over a hundred million bushels per year. This alone gave the west a political voice which could not be taken lightly.

The need for broader forms of organization to represent the growing sectional interests was becoming evident by this time as well. Although by 1896 three cooperative creameries were operating in Assiniboia, early efforts at primitive cooperation were failing regularly.

In 1900 the Harmony Industrial Association failed. This Rochdale co-operative community was founded by J. E. Paynter, W. C. Paynter and Samuel Sanderson at Tantallon in the Qu'Appelle Valley east of Partridge's farm in 1895. Its failure indicated the need for broader, more powerful bases of support.[7] This initiated a period during which co-operative organization attempted to meet the challenge of increased economic pressure. These attempts were inadequate, and the early twentieth century co-operative movements in Canada became "a remarkably diffused and poorly integrated movement." The movement was therefore a failure nationally, and Ian MacPherson describes Partridge's Grain Growers' Grain Company as having "to jettison a considerable portion . . . of its co-operative commitment," by dropping payment of rebates to shareholders, before being accepted on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.[8] Nevertheless, such tentative approaches to broader organization were a significant advance over isolated instances of primitive co-operation, as the T.G.G.A. had been an important advance on isolated farmers' "indignation" meetings.

By 1904 the legacy of governmental grain regulation, stretching back at least to 1835 in Upper Canada, had been judged inadequate by many.[9] Rights won by continual agitation and protest had proven inadequate to protect the individual farmer's interests. Each victory, such as the Sintaluta test case, seemed to elicit reaction by the "Syndicate" or "the Interests," which would necessitate further political action. Although the cumulative gains under successive Grain Act Amendments were undeniably significant, by 1905 many farmers could

look back upon one, or two, decades of seemingly continual protest. Under such conditions, the necessity for broader group organization became obvious to Partridge. As early as 1902 he had addressed a Sintaluta audience, advising militant group action to obtain reform of the Manitoba Grain Act.[10] By 1905, the concept of a co-operative, farmer-owned marketing agency dealing directly with the Winnipeg Grain Exchange was a logical progression for Partridge and the farmers he would increasingly represent. It is not surprising therefore, that the years between 1904 and 1912 mark the period of greatest productivity in Partridge's career.

II

As Edward Partridge observed the working of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, he apparently quickly forgot the narrow problems of grading. This problem would not be solved until passage of the Canada Grain Act of 1912, which introduced Marquis Wheat as a standard, although the provision for mixed grade even then rendered it unsatisfactory for the grain growers.[11] In L. A. Wood's phrase, "as Partridge made his way about, his mind became more and more impregnated with the thought that the western farmers had surrendered to a motley array of distributors work which they collectively might just as well do themselves."[12]

On his return to Sintaluta, Partridge stopped at Brandon to address the annual convention of the M.G.G.A. Although hampered by lack of co-operation from the Grain Exchange, Partridge had written

a report based on the information he was able to collect. He reported that five exporting companies controlled the Exchange, and manipulated the exporting business and margins of profit to eliminate smaller dealers who might attempt to establish themselves as grain dealers. Smaller dealers "stem-wound" their prices by those of the exporters, thereby controlling the price of "street and track wheat" throughout the west. Partridge accused such dealers of price fixing by wiring instructions to their operators at country elevators. Elevator companies thus set prices low enough to drive "farmers elevators" out of business.[13] These accusations were delivered to the M.G.G.A. delegates along with a denunciation of the North-West Grain Dealers' Association, formed in 1903 to meet threats from farmers' organizations. He pointed to the Minnesota Farmers' Exchange as a model for a farmers' marketing agency, and called for the journal to articulate the farmers' grievances.[14] The Nor'West Farmer reported his co-operative scheme.

> The policy he recommended was for the grain growers to co-operate and form a big company of 1,000 farmers, putting up $250 each, which would give a capital of one-quarter of a million. They could then have their own mill and elevators, and he worked out the profits that might be made by handling say 10 million bushels - and so saving all rebates.[15]

Partridge, the master of homely wit which endeared him to his audience, noted that "twenty-five years ago smut and other blemishes were removed with the bran. Now it is the custom to skin the wheat, also the farmer who grew it!" He concluded that "an easy mark is a great temptation to shoot."[16] While the Nor'West Farmer noted the speech, the major newspapers found it only of passing interest. The M.G.G.A. appointed a committee to investigate the plan on the strength of his

very flamboyant address.[17] This committee consisted of Partridge, J. A. Taylor, of Cartwright, and A. S. Barton, of Boissevain.[18]

> This committee . . . got to work and after a full examination of existing conditions, decided that the best way of overcoming the evils and abuses which existed in the trade was to form a company, composed entirely of farmers, that could study these evils and abuses (in the grain trade) at short range and think out the most effective way of getting rid of them.[19]

This recommendation was clearly the result of Partridge's energetic pursuit of his organizational goal despite initial indifference from others. At the fourth annual T.G.G.A. Convention he had suggested a broad range of changes within that organization to render it "more useful and permanent."[20] He saw the principal goal of the T.G.G.A. as being "to increase the profits of its members by associated action; and the practical problem is how can the farmers of the North-West Territories co-operate to secure increased profits from the sale of their $12,000,000 worth of wheat?"[21] Such a joint stock association should be modelled on the Minnesota Farmers' Exchange. Donald Warner contends that the parallel histories of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota and the Manitoba and North-West Farmers' Union in western Canada indicate that "the threads in (the American and Canadian agrarian protest) pattern are continental and not national."[22] The immediate antecendents of the Grain Growers' Grain Company were American, and Partridge's inspiration by the Non-Partisan League later reinforced this tendency in his own career. Early association with the Grange and Patrons of Industry are additional examples of American influence, although Partridge undoubtedly drew upon certain native western influences such as the Bell farm and the Harmony

Industrial Association. Having learned from the mistakes of earlier organizations such as the Farmers' Unions, Partridge rejected the universal nature of Rochdale membership, and closed the membership of his proposed "Co-operative Exchange," as he termed his proposal in 1904, to farmers only.[23]

Partridge's short term goal was to ensure that federal and local governments "be enlightened regarding our legislative needs" through the establishment of a newspaper "as a first step," which would also keep the sub-associations in touch with the T.G.G.A. executive. Partridge felt that the minimal bureaucratization of that organization was causing increased problems in transforming the demands of vital local grain growers' associations, such as the one at Sintaluta, into concrete proposals. Perhaps this implied criticism accounted for the relatively cool reception of his plan. Partridge suggested that Co-operative Exchange "can scarcely be overestimated as a means of focusing the attention of our present members and attracting new adherents."[24] A faltering organization would thus be revitalized, avoiding the rapid decline following short term gains which characterized previous similar organizations. "In the meantime half the grievances of which we now complain would be remedied in the hope of diverting us from our aim," he added.[25] A number of concrete proposals were put forward, including the need for an agent at Winnipeg "supported by the fee system to watch grading." He further advocated that the Association should procure a seat on the Grain Exchange to scrutinize price quotation and "sell our wheat." This demand stemmed

from a popular belief among farmers that their wheat was unfairly downgraded on the basis of colour, a view shared by Partridge, who moved

> . . . that whereas a great deal of dissatisfaction with results of the grading of our wheat exists among our members, and whereas it is desirable that a check should be applied to the working of the system in the meantime, and whereas knowledge of conditions surrounding the grading of our wheat must precede intelligent criticism looking towards possible improvements, it would appear that an agent of this Association stationed at Winnipeg would be capable of rendering great service to the individual members, and to the Association as a whole.[26]

Partridge, himself, would fill this advocacy role that he envisioned in late 1904 and during his tour of examination in 1905 even more than the agent appointed following this resolution. As first president of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, with a seat on the Grain Exchange, he would seek to expand this role to an adversarial one, a move which precipitated his temporary expulsion from the Exchange the following year.

In addition, Partridge sought to broaden the T.G.G.A.'s influence, and his own within the organization, by moving the appointment of a special committee, consisting of himself and two others, to appraise the feasibility of a newspaper "representing the views and the interests of this Association . . .."[27] The newly formed Farm and Ranch Review in Calgary was named official T.G.G.A. organ in February 1905.[28] Under pressure from Partridge and others, the role of this journal was broadened, and in 1906, it was renamed the Farm and Ranch Journal and Grain Growers' Gazette. It remained the S.G.G.A. organ. At this time the Nor'West Farmer was providing a

grain growers' supplement to meet the needs of wheat farmers specifically. However, both major publications were increasingly criticized as too sympathetic to lobbyists for the grain dealers and elevator companies. This criticism was led by Partridge and a group of T.G.G.A./S.G.G.A.[29] members who advocated class action. It was not until 1908 however, that Partridge was able to establish the Grain Growers' Guide, and promote a more militant, integrated critique of the existing economic and political system.

At this 1904 meeting Partridge seconded a motion supporting the basic provisions of the Manitoba Grain Act, and calling for refinements in the clause dealing with the perennially vexed question of farmers' rights to grain cars - "that said applicant shall be entitled to the first car of the size he desires that arrives at his shipping point."[30] He also moved that numerous samples of Territorial grain be gathered for the Grain Standards Board, that it might more accurately determine commercial grades.[31] As noted earlier, this occupied much of early 1905 for Partridge, as he was involved in gathering such samples throughout Assiniboia.

Thus, Partridge remained a central, guiding influence in the T.G.G.A., and after 1905, the S.G.G.A. He and G. D. Fitzgerald were auditors for 1904 and 1905. Of twelve resolutions passed in 1904, three were moved by Partridge, and one was seconded by him. The ideas these motions contained led to several extremely influential developments in succeeding years. As noted, the trip to observe the Winnipeg Grain Exchange led to the foundation of Canada's first major

farmer-owned Co-operative. Partridge's demands for a strong voice to express the specific demands of the western farmers led to the most influential agrarian organ to emerge in the west. His constant demands for a more consistent method of grading the bread-making qualities of wheat led to one of the more significant provisions of the Canada Grain Act in 1912.[32]

The role of Edward Partridge at the T.G.G.A. Annual Convention in December 1904 indicates that he originated several of the most important proposals to emerge from the Grain Growers' Association in this period. Also, it might be noted that he apparently carried as many ideas to Winnipeg as he returned with, and that his concept of a co-operative marketing agency was partly the culmination of several factors. His personal frustration at the Grain Exchange merely provided a catalyst which animated his ideas with the anger required to motivate his several crusades during the succeeding eight years.

III

After addressing the M.G.G.A. and T.G.G.A. conventions, Partridge devoted most of 1905 to promoting the co-operative ideal. This apparently quickly became an "obsession."[33] While conducting his investigation into the feasibility of such an endeavour with Taylor and Barton, Partridge carried on a simultaneous propaganda campaign. He wrote a letter to "The Farmers of the West" which was printed in the Nor'West Farmer and widely read. In this letter he

exhorted grain farmers to "Co-operate on such a scale that our aggregate financial, commercial and industrial power is equal to or greater than that of those who would exploit us."[34] On 1 March 1905 he completed a seven-page pamphlet which he had printed in Sintaluta and widely distributed. Titled "Co-operation and Its Adaptation to Our Circumstances," it represented Partridge's most flamboyant rhetoric, and was mailed to the President and Secretary of each sub-association in the M.G.G.A. and T.G.G.A. These men were requested to call a meeting on the 15th of April to read and discuss the propositions outlined by Partridge.[35] Partridge attacked

> . . . the Captains of industry, merchant princes and masters of finance (who) have, by the elimination of competition and the substitution of co-operation therefor among themselves been enabled to levy an excessive and ever increasing tribute on the great unorganized mass of wealth producers throughout the world, to the building up of colossal fortunes on the one hand and consequent widespread impoverishment and virtual enslavement on the other.[36]

Citing "mergers, combines, trusts and monoplies" as examples of the co-operative principle working to the advantage of such "masters of finance," Partridge warned that unless the increasing trend toward corporate mergers be restricted "a quarter of a century will see ninety-nine per cent of the wealth of North America the private property of one per cent of its population."[37] He rejected legislative penalties against the co-operative organization which gave these trusts and combines such effectiveness.

> Co-operation is in essence both sane and moral and only awaits the evolution of a population sufficiently enlightened to practice it on a large scale to become the most powerful weapon of defence against the financial buccaneers who employ it within narrow limits for their own enrichment;

> and needs only to be universally employed to bring about an industrial millenium.[38]

Partridge denounced business competition for being as wasteful and debasing to the morals as war, "in fact it is war in the economic domain," noting that businessmen sought to eliminate it in their own enterprises while encouraging it in others. "Openly they stand for the competitive principle, privately they practice Co-operation."[39] Citing Standard Oil, American Steel, "The Beef Trust," "The Sugar Trust," International Harvester Company, and other examples, Partridge warned that "the shadow of the coming 'Bread Trust' darkens the land."

> Will an Armour or a Rockefeller organize it to extort fresh billions from producers of wheat and consumers of bread alike or will the great plain people, learning wisdom from those who spoil them, organize themselves into an association that will become the sturdiest giant in the group and so restore the balance of power?[40]

Echoing Social Darwinist phraseology Partridge warned that "old economic conditions have passed away never to return. We must move on with the procession or be trampled underfoot."[41] The age of the individual craftsman or husbandman has passed. "We are no longer denizens of a hamlet but citizens of a world." Modern transportation and communication technology was creating a situation where "interlocking, retroacting financial, commercial and industrial interests of a thousand million people" had negated the possibility of one man "acquiring in his own person the knowledge and financial strength to set up equitable commercial relations in the world market."[42] This lesson he had learned thoroughly during his initial encounter with the Grain Exchange.

In light of this emerging class-oriented exploitation, Partridge asserted that "the time is ripe for inaugurating the co-operative movement to the extent of forming a company of farmers to undertake the marketing of their wheat." To this end he evoked the farmers' prosperity "and the prosperity and even liberty of their descendants . . ." He added that "our forefathers shouldered their guns and risked their lives for freedom. We their sons will scarcely refuse to shoulder a little responsibility and risk a few dollars to perpetuate that blessing."[43]

Having established such precedents, clearly only "a man who is weak financially or too lacking in moral courage" would cavil at the $250 share ("the price of a horse"). Once more suggesting a slight tendency to Social Darwinism Partridge concluded as follows:

> The amount of a share is purposely large in order that the shareholders may represent the more successful element of the farming class. Those who have applied business principles to their private undertakings will employ them in the affairs of a corporation.[44]

This pronouncement assumes a certain ironic quality when it is observed that Partridge's farming successes were apparently less common than his educational and organizational endeavours.[45] Partridge saw the farmers as entering the fray as an energetic group, sufficiently evolved to compete with the captains of industry on an equal footing. "Armour and Rockefeller act first and talk afterwards or rather let their deeds speak for themselves. 'Tis a good plan."[46]

Partridge outlined several safeguards "to prevent the Company from becoming the prey of capitalists."

> (a) The owership of stock will be restricted to owners and operators of farms who are members of the Manitoba or

Territorial Grain Growers' Association.

(b) No person shall acquire more than four shares of stock.

(c) One shareholder, one vote.

(d) A shareholder can only be represented by proxy by another shareholder who resides within a radius of forty miles from his home and who is not an officer of the Company.[47]

He warned that under federal legislation half the capital stock had to be subscribed, and ten per cent of that would have to be paid up before a provisional directorate could be elected or a charter applied for. This remained a problem during the early years of the G.G.G.C. As Leonard Nesbitt later observed, even after the company opened its Winnipeg office, there was some financial uncertainty. "Where they got the money to operate has never been explained . . . "[48] Partridge passed over financial details in his circular. "The actual business details are not here enlarged upon."[49] His interests were primarily theoretical. Frequently thereafter he suffered the problems of coping with the mundane matters of administering the Company's finances with little grace, and this was undoubtedly a contributing factor in his early retirement as the G.G.G.C.'s first president.

This account of Partridge's views in 1905 substantiates Seymour Lipset's view that "Partridge saw the emerging farmers' movement as part of a world-wide conflict between capital and labor" from the very beginning.[50] Inspired by John Ruskin's works on social reform, Partridge acknowledged some years later in an interview with W. A. Mackintosh that he saw the early co-operative organization as a preliminary phase in a broader process.

Co-operation provided a temporary remedy for existing abuses of the grain trade. It would provide out of its revenues a

> great educational fund which would finance a newspaper and a campaign which would culminate in the domination of the legislatures by the common man, and in the introduction of state ownership of public utilities and natural resources. Then would come true co-operation based on the ethics of Ruskin.[51]

Partridge foresaw the expansion of the G.G.G.C. into all areas of farm production eventually, and eventually into the political arena. As early as his 1902 address to the crowd attending the Sintaluta trial he had been preaching the necessity for broad group action. At the fourth annual T.G.G.A. Convention he concluded his address with a similar plan.

> The members of our Association should actively participate in the selection of candidates and the formulation of policies of their respective parties, that the agricultural class should be duly represented in Parliament no matter which party reigned at the capital.[52]

Such broad plans were frequently discounted as impractical by the farmers whose enthusiasm he sought to arouse in 1905 and 1906. His plans for the infiltration of the Liberal and Conservative parties by agents of the "agricultural class" were unsuccessful due to the great popularity of men like W. R. Motherwell and Walter Scott.[53] His rhetoric alarmed the North West Grain Dealers' Association, North West Elevator Association, Winnipeg Grain Exchange, and other powerful enemies which would mount a strong resistance to the new company's appearance.

The Partridge Plan was a term which came to describe the popular movement which demanded socialization of Canadian elevator systems. The federal government was petitioned to take over control of terminal elevators and provincial governments to control local, line elevators.

Between 1905 and 1910 the Partridge Plan was widely recognized as supporting these two major points, although it underwent several changes, as the federal government avoided responsibility for such measures, and the Manitoba government hastened to assume full responsibility for elevators within its borders.

T. D. Regehr argues that "The so-called Partridge Plan was never designed to replace all the private companies with farmer-owned co-operative companies."

> The Grain Growers' Grain Company, which the farmers established to handle and market their grain, would do its work if it simply forced the other private companies to eliminate their more exploitative practices and treat the farmers fairly. A farmer-controlled company operating in the midst of the private companies could set a standard of performance, service and honesty which the others could only ignore at their peril. In this respect the Grain Growers' Grain Company proved an unqualified success. It established in Saskatchewan a faith in and a tradition of farm co-operation. It took the co-operation of the old barn-raising bee a step forward and in time became the stepping stone to a further advancement in co-operative development . . . when farmers abandoned the early concept of co-operative companies operating on the open market and came to support a full-blown socialist system of government and community planned co-operation.[54]

This has become a widely-held view of the Partridge's role, although it is only partially correct. S.G.G.A. and later G.G.G.C. leadership was characterized by "bureaucratic conservatism,"[55] which led to the acceptance of a limited version of Partridge's plans for social re-organization and political activism. However, it is clear that by 1905 Partridge himself had already accepted a broad interpretation of the social and economic problems confronting the western farmer. His solutions were accordingly radical and would affect all levels of society if implemented. This characterized Partridge's

thought from at least 1905, and would increasingly alienate him from his following during his successive careers as executive, editor, propagandist and utopian western separatist.

IV

The report described above was presented to both the T.G.G.A. and M.G.G.A. Its proposals were rejected because it was feared that most farmers would oppose such a company and in turn endanger the credibility of the associations.[55] The Partridge Plan would call for government ownership of line elevators and terminals within two years. The political climate in the west was increasingly sympathetic to such projects. For example, in March 1906 R. P. Roblin's government in Manitoba acknowledged public pressure for public ownership of electrical utilities, and passed legislation allowing the Winnipeg municipal government to control the distribution and production of power from the Pointe du Boise generating station on the Winnipeg River. Although this political experiment was relatively short-lived, it indicates an increased public acceptance of the public-ownership concept.[56] Nevertheless, the grain growers' executive leadership proved suspicious of entrance into business dealings. As Lipset notes this was "the first of many attempts by elected leaders of prairie farm organizations to block the formation of new institutions to meet agrarian needs."[57] In 1905 this reluctance to engage directly in political or commercial enterprises was due largely to misgivings aroused by memories of earlier unsuccessful ventures begun under the

Patrons of Industry.[58]

Deprived of official sponsorship by the influential grain growers' associations, Partridge returned to Sintaluta to elicit support among his fellow-farmers. That area of southern Assiniboia had become highly politicized, and was a seed bed for radical agrarian ideas. Continuous agitation had led to the T.G.G.A., and the Sintaluta trial during the previous five years. Now the men of Sintaluta district were called upon to support a more wide reaching proposal. Partridge called a public meeting to be held in the Town Hall on 27 January 1906. To prepare for this a strategy council was held in the hotel sitting room.[59] A committee was appointed to prepare a program of action.[60] It consisted of E. A. Partridge, Al Quigley, David Railton, W. R. Bonner, Thomas McLeod and James Ewart.[61] Their platform was presented to approximately thirty local farmers who gathered in the Orange Hall. Here the lengthy six-page Sintaluta resolution was passed unanimously.[62] These farmers all pledged themselves to subscribe for shares. This small organization meeting would quickly enter into local and western Canadian legend.[63]

The Sintaluta resolution contrasted with Partridge's earlier report to the grain growers' associations in tone. W. A. Mackintosh notes that it had "less of rhetoric than of clear-headed analysis of a complicated situation."[64] Perhaps Partridge realized that his brutal attack on the capitalist system had alienated many among his audience. The resolution noted the widespread discontent existent among western grain growers "with the conditions governing the marketing of their

grain."[65] This was attributed to "ignorance of the details of the grain business" and isolation from other farmers and from markets. It was argued further that "the scientific selling of wheat is as important to the farmer as the scientific growing of it" and that the necessary "scientific" knowledge could only be obtained "by engaging in the business at some important commercial center and studying the methods of successful operations." It was acknowledged that response to Partridge's report in March 1905 had been cool "indicating that the larger scheme there outlined . . . was premature, necessitating "a modified scheme based on an issue of $25.00 shares, the activies of which would necessarily be restricted to acquiring a seat on the Grain Exchange and doing a straight commission business . . .." Such a plan, it was felt, "would be almost universally subscribed to and supported . . . ."[66]

The benefits of this plan were that it "would be immediately profitable without financial risk," would provide protection from "crooked practices" and would educate the shareholders in the workings of the grain marketing system. Partridge was able to include his hope that such knowledge would equip farmers "for greater enterprises," but these were not described. Surplus profits would be expended "investigating conditions in Eastern Canadian and European markets with a view . . . to determine the fitness or unfitness of our grading system as a means to classifying our wheats . . ."[67]

The committee recommended formation of a joint stock company to be called the Grain Growers' Grain Company. It was to be composed

entirely of farmers, "with a large enough issue of shares to include within its membership all Western Grain Growers desirous of becoming members."[68]

Despite limited support from the T.G.G.A., a preliminary organization committee of Sintaluta farmers was commenced independently under E. A. Partridge's chairmanship. H. O. Partridge and J. O. Partridge were members, as was David Railton, who had accompanied the Partridges west from Ontario in 1883. Eleven other Sintaluta men comprised the committee.[69] An organizational meeting was called for Brandon on 1 March 1906, at which the Sintaluta committee would offer a more fully articulated plan for the fledgling company's organization.

The G.G.G.C. rented space for a desk in Wilson's hardware store for one dollar. "Partridge roughed the company name on a piece of cardboard and leaned it in the window."[70] At this time John Kennedy of Swan River, Manitoba joined Partridge. Their relationship is described by Ralph Hedlin.

> Partridge was an idea-man, a dreamer and prophet, an idealist, a man who was short of temper and impatient with the small ideas and the slow movement of others. Kennedy combined a bland geniality and a bulldog perseverance with sound administrative capacity. He became the self-appointed manager of Partridge's ideas. Individually the two men were one impractical idealist and one unimaginative plodder; combined they became a juggernaut.[71]

While overdrawing the personality traits of the two men, their symbiotic relationship was undoubtedly important during the early years of the G.G.G.C. A vigorous stock selling campaign occupied the spring and summer of 1906. Partridge, with Al Quigley, William Bonner and William Hall conducted this from their hardware store desk. Soon

Quigley was canvassing the country however.[72] Problems arose when many farmers were reluctant to part with the initial $25.00 for such a speculative venture. This amount, representing ten per cent of the cost of one share, was required in cash from each shareholder. However, Kennedy's energetic salesmanship brought total shares to over a thousand by July.[73]

On 28 February 1906 Partridge addressed the M.G.G.A. convention in Brandon. His more concrete proposals met with more positive response, and his report was adopted by the Association, although much resistance still remained.[74] The proposed meeting of the G.G.G.C. organizers was held the following day at the Brandon Town Hall. Some thirty delegates from across the west approved the Sintaluta resolution there, and another meeting was called for April in Winnipeg. At this two-day meeting more resistance surfaced, but the Sintaluta directorate was endorsed. The canvassing committee was increased to include Manitobans.[75]

The canvassing was again energetic, but frequently disappointing. Most of the early, enthusiastic canvassers returned to their farms. Early attempts to obtain a charter were denied; the Companies Act made no provision of the issue of stock less than one hundred dollars in value.[76] John Kennedy and John Spencer obtained a provincial charter from Manitoba however. By 18 July Partridge wrote to the Vidette announcing successful completion of their negotiations for a charter.

> We are glad to be able to announce to your farmer readers that the Grain Growers' Grain Co., Limited is at last incorporated and arrangements are rapidly being made for taking care of the coming season's business.

> The temporary management will have a tent on the Winnipeg fair grounds next to the agricultural papers' tents, and will be glad to welcome their many subscribers and also those interested in this movement for freedom from the clutch of the combine.[77]

The 1906 harvest was fast approaching, and it was felt that immediate action was necessary if any business were to be conducted that year. Under the Manitoba Charter the G.G.G.C. could open for business with a provisional directorate. Five of the original committee were present in Winnipeg, and a provisional organization was established at the Industrial Exhibition.[78] In a sixteen-foot tent the original organization took place "to the accompaniment of a raucous medley of sounds - the beating of tom-toms, the ballyhooing of the sideshows, the racket of the machinery exhibitions and the cries of the peanut and lemonade vendors . . ."[79] The provisional directorate chosen there consisted of E. A. Partridge, President, John Kennedy, Vice-President, John Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer; W. M. Robinson and Francis Graham of Manitoba were also chosen as directors.[80] Partridge recalled that Thomas Coulter, manager of the Independent Grain Company, had been helpful when he had been conducting his investigation of the Grain Exchange. Coulter was convinced by Partridge to become manager of the G.G.G.C.[81]

At a general meeting of shareholders shortly thereafter, the original directorate were elected, with Robert Cruise and T. W. Knowles of Manitoba as well.[82] This group approached the Grain Exchange with the object of purchasing a seat for the G.G.G.C., but found that they required an additional $1,500 for this purpose. Administrative costs

were already placing the new company in jeopardy. Partridge convinced five Sintaluta men to provide personal notes to cover the cost.[83] With these resources the G.G.G.C. rented a small office in the Tribune Building in Winnipeg, and on 5 September declared itself open for business.[84] Circulars authorized by Partridge were broadcast throughout the farm communities of the west. By the end of September weekly receipts were for more than one hundred grain cars.[85]

A larger office was required. The G.G.G.C. moved to the Henderson Block. At the fifth annual S.G.G.A. convention Partridge had praised the "quiet but effective work" of his organizers. "Combination is to be met by combination. The train has been laid, and now the match has been applied." Proudly he described Sintaluta as "the temporary headquarters of a movement that is destined in the next ninety days to include within its membership four-fifths of the grain growers west of the Great Lakes."

> It is the cloud no bigger than a man's hand that will shortly overshadow the whole West, and that will drop down blessings on the great plain people. It means a "square deal." Its "foundation stone" is justice.
>
> It is part of that temple of equity which society is slowly rearing as civilization's crowning monument - co-operation - the "cope stone" of which is practical brotherhood.
>
> Though promising to its membership material benefits, it ceases to be mercenary by reason of the wide application of that benefit.[86]

As always, Partridge saw the company as a means for educating western Canadian society. Farmers' Institutes, agricultural societies, and grain growers associations and sub-associations in all western provinces were to be "media for advocating this movement." With a

fervor reminiscent of St. Paul exhorting the early church, Partridge admonished his listeners not to wait for such organizations. "Consider yourself a committee of one to forward the movement."

> Send in your subscription to the Treasurer of the Committee at Sintaluta . . . and induce your neighbor to do likewise; and spur up the officers of any farmers' organization in your vicinity to take swift action in calling their members together, discussing the project and inciting the less progressive to join this movement. If you have not a farmers' organization near you, start one.[87]

In February, Partridge also presented his report as representative of the T.G.G.A. in Winnipeg, but events had overridden its usefulness.[88] The G.G.G.C. was an accomplished fact.

V

Partridge saw the success of the G.G.G.C. as the inevitable working out of social evolution and looked toward putting his full efforts into propagandizing for the co-operative movement.[89] When the company opened on 5 September Partridge wrote a circular envisioning a time when "every farmer west of the Great Lakes" would be a shareholder. "If half the farmers of the West will join this Company . . . it will be the biggest and strongest Company in Canada . . .."[90] However in that same circular he had made the following promise.

> Our plan of dividing profits is to pay fair interest on the shares first and then divide the remaining profits among shareholders according to the amount of wheat we have handled for each. This is the Co-operative method.[91]

This provision contravened a Grain Exchange by-law prohibiting splitting of commissions with the shipper.[92] This gave the Exchange a reason to expel the G.G.G.C. In late September T. A. Crerar bought twelve

shares in the Company and became an active member. Partridge had notified him at that time that the G.G.G.C. was "in a prosperous condition, considering the time which has elapsed since starting. The office is self-supporting and we are having a good influence upon both grades and prices."[93] By October however, business had ceased completely under the assault launched by the Exchange.

When Partridge approached the Grain Exchange secretary to obtain a seat for the G.G.G.C., he was told that seats were allocated to individuals only. Partridge, concerned over the advanced season, was curious to know whether this would mean "a hold-up, that we would devote $2,500 of the funds of the company for securing a seat for one of its members and then not be permitted to register the company."[94] While this fear was denied, "it was intimated to me . . . by Mr. Bell (the Secretary) that it was possible that the co-operation of our company might be some barrier to the registration of the company . . ."[95] However, after securing the seat in Partridge's own name, application was granted for registration of the G.G.G.C. Several days later the G.G.G.C. received a telegram from the Exchange "making inquiries as to the relationship of the company with one who was supposed to be an employee of the company" checking for violations of the by-laws. This preliminary sortee against the new company soon led to increased pressure to have it removed from the Exchange.

Six weeks after acquiring their seat on the Exchange, and having a representative on the floor of the Exchange, Partridge was informed that two charges had been laid against the G.G.G.C.

> . . . it was asserted we had offended against the honor and dignity of the Exchange in the publishing of certain pamphlets. The second charge was that our proposed plan for the division of profits was contrary to the rule of the Grain Exchange.[96]

When called before the Grain Exchange Council to answer these charges, Partridge replied that the G.G.G.C. was not guilty of violating section 4, By-law 19, which prohibited "giving any . . . consideration to any other party or parties whatsoever to influence or procure shipments or consignments of grain to any member or members of the Exchange . . . ."[97] According to Partridge the antipathy of the Exchange was clearly motivated by other reasons.

> I may say that it is my firm conviction that it was not the charge that was the trouble but the fact that this co-operative method, and this method of establishing a company of our own was inducing shipments of grain, increasing the amount of consigned grain and grain sold on track, and for that reason it was prejudicial to the elevator and milling interests, and to that alone we owed the hostility of the Exchange.[98]

Partridge refused to volunteer information to the Council, and when questioned as to the method of dividing G.G.G.C. profits, replied that "the relationships that existed between members of the Company or their arrangements for division of profits was not a matter of concern to anybody but ourselves." He contended that the by-laws dealt only with the Company's dealings with other bodies, not internal matters, and refused to admit authorship of the Company circulars.[99] Partridge was especially incensed by the muzzling effect of Exchange by-laws, which "tends to bar against violent criticism of the rules . . ."

> If one interest in the Exchange is stronger than the others it follows that those other interests may be constantly weakened and handicapped by the perpetuation of rules which tend to eliminate them, and they are constantly in jeopardy of losing their

membership, losing the privilege they enjoy as traders, and even losing their money invested.[100]

In the face of Partridge's intransigence, the following morning, 24 October, saw the G.G.G.C. directorate "posted in the (Exchange) Board-room as having been suspended . . .." Partridge complained that this was done "without the courtesy of giving the 24 hour notice which is required under the rules of the by-laws." Partridge and Alexander McIntyre Blackburn approached several members of the Exchange to see whether they might "make trades upon the old basis, and we found we were not to be permitted to make trades."[101] A. M. Blackburn, the company manager, was a noted figure at this time. Born in Paisley, Ontario, he moved to Manitoba in 1879. He began his career as a store manager, and was noted as a marksman, entering competitions "as a tyro" in 1903. He won places on the Bisley team between 1906 and 1908 "but did not go to England in 1907." In 1909 he won a Prince of Wales cup at Bisley, carrying off eleven first prizes including the Wingrove Cup.[102] Partridge and Blackburn became a well known team of agitators. They quickly began efforts to break the boycott against the G.G.G.C. Partridge wrote that "the survivors of the competitive system who compose the trusts are usually the most unscrupulous of their class. In high finance it is not generally 'the survival of the fittest,' but the survival of the meanest."[103]

Early in 1907 Partridge entered the political debate more directly. In February 1906 the S.G.G.A. convention, of which Partridge was a member of the nominating and resolutions committees, had called for the federal government to set up a royal commission to investigate

the grain trade.[104] On the other hand, in his farewell address to the S.G.G.A., before entering the provincial Liberal cabinet, Motherwell described a bright future for Western development inaugurated by the establishment of two Liberal-dominated provincial governments. He lauded the extension of three railways into the west and the "welcome and timely reduction in freight rates." Motherwell had represented the S.G.G.A. at the recent Tariff Commission sittings in Regina, and felt progress had been made in promoting tariff restrictions to favor agricultural interest.[105] Such advances were inadequate for Partridge however. By early 1907 he concluded that the G.G.G.C.

> will never be secure, therefore, until adequate transportation facilities are supplied by the Railways and sufficient storage facilities under government ownership and supervision are provided by the Legislatures of the various Provinces at both initial and terminal points.[106]

This was, in effect, the Partridge Plan as it would be instituted in Manitoba.

Preliminary stages in the promotion of the Partridge Plan involved strong political pressure to be readmitted to the Exchange. On 8 November 1906 the G.G.G.C. addressed a letter of protest to the Manitoba Attorney General. On 18 November a non-committal reply was received from his Deputy. Following this political manoeuver the boycott progressed from prohibition of dealing with the G.G.G.C. at the customary one cent below Fort William prices, to the point where members were prohibited from dealing with them under any circumstances, "so that a bill of lading bearing (G.G.G.C.) endorsation might be

considered as not negotiable in the City of Winnipeg."[107]

On 20 December the G.G.G.C. Board of Directors addressed an urgent petition to Premier Roblin, asking that he "invoke (his) interference in our behalf" in the "struggle for freedom from the exactions of the organized grain trade . . ."[108] At about this time the Vidette noted that elevators were full and grain cars were limited. "That's a blockade!"[109] This condition, coupled with "freight manipulations" by large dealers, led to elevator operators being able to buy wheat from two to ten cents per bushel below Fort William prices."[110] By September 1906 Tom Partridge, David Railton and A. J. Quigley were all managing farmer elevators in Sintaluta.[111] Such elevators were integrated into the supply system developing around the G.G.G.C., but their growth throughout the west was inadequate to overcome the financial problems faced by the company. By the end of 1906 over a half million bushels consigned to it were accumulating, and costing storage fees and interest charges "with very little hope of being handled at a profit . . ."[112] The expulsion from trading privileges resulted in a net overdraft of $365,000 with the Bank of British North America by this date. Partridge, Kennedy and Spencer were required to secure this amount by personal bond.[113]

> The practical effect of (the expulsion) is that they must look entirely to the Old Country or Eastern buyers or Exporters located in the East for a market and this curtailment of their market is at the moment most seriously threatening their financial position.[114]

The G.G.G.C. reminded Roblin that he had stated that many rules and by-laws of the Grain Exchange were in restraint of trade, and that a

two-third majority vote in a council composed of fourteen men could cut off an important company "from trading relations with a whole body of the Grain trade West of the Great Lakes." in 1906 petition ended with a political threat which would be taken seriously by two provincial governments and the federal parties as well during the next five years.

> Should you not see your way clear to take such action as will lead to our immediate re-instatement and the elimination of such rules as would leave us in constant jeopardy of being again suspended we will perforce have to discontinue trading operations and devote our whole energy to the task of invoking the aid of all members of the Legislature, Municipal bodies, both town and country, Farmers' Institutes, Agricultural Societies, Rural Boards of trade, Grain Growers' Associations and representative men everywhere throughout the Province to extinguish by Legislative means this monstrous interference with the freedom of trade and commerce and this organized attempt to prevent the producers of a commodity from employing enlightened methods for the marketing of the same.[115]

The problems faced by the G.G.G.C. finally elicited support from several quarters. The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society broke the boycott and traded with the farmers' company, purchasing substantial amounts of grain at the regular commission rate. This saved the G.G.G.C. for the short term.[116] In addition the M.G.G.A. made representations to the Manitoba government, gave evidence before the Miller Royal Commission in 1906, and laid a charge against the Exchange.[117] The M.G.G.A. criticized the Exchange before the Manitoba house committee on agriculture. To resolve the problem, Roblin convened a conference where all parties argued their case. W. L. Morton notes that to "the will of the farming community, thus expressed by an organization no political party could match, the Roblin government and both political parties gave instant and respectful heed."[118] The

M.G.G.A. also testified before the Miller Commission.[119] Evidence from this testimony led the crown to prosecute several members of the Exchange on charges of having "unlawfully conspired, combined or arranged with each other, to restrain or injure trade or commerce in relation to grain."[120]

The G.G.G.C. was reinstated in the Exchange on 27 April 1908, following several major concessions which constituted a setback for Partridge personally. Convinced that the provisions for co-operative distribution of profits was contrary to the Manitoba Joint Stock Companies' Act, this aspect of their organization was dropped, and distribution of net profits to shareholders substituted.[121] On 17 April 1907 Roblin had threatened to call a special session of the Legislature to amend the Exchange charter. It was not necessary to call an election on this issue alone, however, and his government passed legislation forcing the rescinding of clause 19, the "anti-co-operative clause," despite threats by the Grain Exchange to move to Fort William. This was clearly "an early and clear indication of the power of the organized farmers and of their influence on government."[123] The Exchange was eventually exonerated by the Miller Commission, which concluded that "The work of the Grain Exchange in establishing and systematizing a market in Winnipeg for the handling of the crops of the West has been a great benefit to the country."[124] Its criticisms were relatively minor, although several minor charges resulted from evidence gathered by the Commission. However, the Roblin government, by threatening resignation, pushed its bill through. This

forced the Exchange out of existence on 26 February, with trading being conducted on the curb.[125] In September 1908 it reopened as an unincorporated voluntary association.

When the G.G.G.C. was reinstated in the Exchange, it was under the condition that its seat not be held in Partridge's name. This the company refused, but with the reorganization of the company in 1907, Partridge refused to run for the presidency for a second term. S. M. Lipset describes this series of events as typical.

> The replacement of the aggressive fighting leader by a more conservative bureaucratic type is characteristic in organizations such as trade-unions, political movements and co-operatives. Partridge's career was peculiar only in the fact that he consciously recognized the pressure for such change and stepped down willingly.[126]

The man Partridge chose to succeed him was T. A. Crerar. A fellow homesteader-teacher and grain buyer, Crerar had impressed Partridge with his enthusiasm for the cooperative ideal.[127] Crerar would soon assume leadership of the G.G.G.C. and take it in directions which Partridge disapproved of, culminating in the acrimonious feud of 1912, when Crerar would denounce Partridge as a divisive influence within the company. In 1907 however, Partridge was pleased to turn over the leadership of the business administration to Crerar.

In the fall of 1907 Partridge suffered the first of numerous personal tragedies which would restrict the effectiveness of his public career. While operating a binder on his farm, a runaway team caused an accident in which he fell beneath the cutting-knife, lacerating his right leg very severely. Although efforts were made to save the leg, it was amputated. Partridge had to wear "an artificial cork leg"

after this.[128] The winter of 1906-1907 had been a long, very bitter winter, filled with financial worries, and political agitation, its cold the most severe in decades.[129] During the winter of 1907-1908 Partridge necessarily spent more time on his farm. He followed the fortunes of his brothers' curling club. In January 1907 Ira Partridge had led the local club to win the Grand Challenge and Saskatchewan Cup at the Royal Caledonian Curling Club's annual bonspiel.[130] They were well-known locally, and Partridge could follow their progress with interest. The Partridge's had a stone house in Sintaluta by this time, and here he would have continued to write and study, carry on his correspondence, and prepare for the next major political crusade, the pressure to have a government-owned system of line elevators and terminals initiated in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[131]

VI

Between 1907 and 1911 the Partridge Plan for government ownership of line and terminal elevators was, with the perennial tariff debate, the most potent political issue in western Canada. Such a system of government-owned facilities was briefly instituted in Manitoba in response to agrarian agitation. A similar scheme was rejected by Saskatchewan, but the creation of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company in 1911 was a direct outgrowth of the Partridge Plan.

Vernon Fowke argues that agrarian power varied in Canadian history "in proportion to the contribution which agriculture could make

at any given time, to the cause of commerce, finance, and industry."[132] By 1907 the western wheat farmer was in a position, due to several decades of political development, to make a definite imprint upon the political institutions which had formerly stood within a completely colonial relationship to them. This was due partly to the fact that the National Policy "was not only tolerant of but primarily dependent upon immigration and agricultural policy."[133] The philosophy behind this policy was characterized by "a persistent disregard of the competitive inferiority of agriculture within the price system."[134] Fowke makes the following bleak assessment of the effectiveness of radical agrarian agitation.

> The history of the National Policy stands as a measure of the ability of Canadian, and particularly western Canadian, farmers to influence governmental policy. From 1879 to 1930 the National Policy prevailed without significant modification. Agrarian opposition to this policy reached peaks of strength from 1907 to 1911, and again in the early nineteen-twenties. Each time agrarian political strength was insufficient to secure more than alternative satisfaction.[135]

The colonial nature of western Canada's relationship to the prevalent economic structure was responsible for the ultimate failure of the Partridge Plan. The tendency was reinforced by the myth of self-sufficiency, which worked against implementation of the too "radical," or socialistic, proposals.[136] Allan Smith makes the following observation.

> Language inconsistent with the nature of the reality it claimed to be describing was, in fact, used frequently on the frontier. Developments there which were primarily the result of carefully co-ordinated corporate activity were regularly offerred as proof of what strong men acting individually could accomplish.[137]

Fowke calls this one of the most "persistent" myths in Canadian history.[138]

Indeed, Edward Partridge exemplifies this tendency. In retrospect, his efforts are offered as proof of the simple product of a Turnerian frontier, bringing the "interests" to their knees, albeit briefly. As Lipset notes, "In the newly settled, loosely structured society of the West, with its numerous unsolved economic and social problems, a man with ideas could command a hearing . . ."[139] Moorhouse, Nesbitt and Boyd put forward this view as well. However, the reality eventually outweighed the myth. The basically conservative, petit bourgeois values of the Saskatchewan farmers would not be outraged by massive corporate undertakings by the agricultural community, as long as they were not explicitly ideological. Partridge's explicit modelling of the G.G.G.C. and the Partridge Plan upon the combines wrought by "the Armours and Rockefellers" may have rankled. The Manitoba government's involvements rubbed in the contrast between myth and reality. Two contending trends thus met in the Partridge Plan, and the agrarian myth won out in 1911. The Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company retained much of the desired substance, while retaining little of the offensive image of government ownership. Partridge's outspoken campaign failed to accommodate the subtleties of this widespread ambivalence. However, the struggle for implementation of the Partridge Plan represented the peak of his public career; when it was discredited by poor business management, in Manitoba, and the provincial elevators were acquired by the G.G.G.C., it marked the end of Partridge's

effectiveness as an organizer. His efforts would be largely as spokesman for the agrarian myth which had in a sense destroyed his major undertaking.

VII

In early 1907 Partridge began to weary of the constant pressure. He complained to a friend that "a greater part of the burden of a struggling company which it was hoped would be the means to a very important end has rested on me for the last four months." In addition to the problems of the boycott, Partridge was losing support among delegates to the S.G.G.A., an area which he hoped to transform into a strong base for his sweeping plans.

At the sixth annual S.G.G.A. convention in February, 1907, Partridge still wielded influence as one of the first directors when the executive board was expanded. Sintaluta sent five delegates, E. A. Partridge, H. O. Partridge, Al Quigley, H. T. Smith and James Ewart. This was more than either Regina or Moose Jaw. Sintaluta, as one of the most heavily represented of the forty-six S.G.G.A. locals, exerted constant pressure for implementation of militant policies. The G.G.G.C.'s William Miller, as M.G.G.A. representative, set the tone of the meeting in his remarks.

> I understand that this city (Regina) is the seat of your Legislature but in my opinion this Association is the more important parliament of the two, and if the farmers of this country go on as they have been doing they will be the real rulers of this country. Whatever laws the farmers wanted the Legislature would be forced to pass. But we must not be hasty. We are only seeking to get our rights, that is all we ask and by being careful we should get our rights.[141]

E. N. Hopkins[142] described the hardships of a grain blockade and coal famine which was affecting the west. When it was moved that oil and coal fields should be government-controlled "in the interests of the people" to alleviate the situation in future, Partridge rose to address the issue.

> Coal has been created by God for the use of his people, and a man should make no apology for trying to defend his heritage. I am a joint heir and every man is in that natural resource of this country. The question at the present time is what is our duty towards the ownership of the coal lands. Would it not be practicable to place the operation of these mines in the hands of the Dominion Government. I think it would be taking it too far away from our interests. I would suggest that the local government should acquire a portion of this domain and operate it on behalf of the people of this Province . . .. Now it does not appear to me that it would be a very costly experiment . . .. Anyway, it would prove a good object lession of tremendous value . . . .[143]

A resolution to have the government build coal sheds throughout Saskatchewan, was amended at Partridge's insistence to read "compelled" rather than "asked." To this F. W. Green, S.G.G.A. Secretary, cautioned Partridge, however, that "it would be wise to be careful, do not let the hares run away. Ask for those things you will likely get."[144]

This cautious attitude characterized the S.G.G.A. meeting generally. Hopkins suggested that the deliberations of the convention should "be based on the principles of right and fairness to all" and called for group solidarity backed by a "well organized public sentiment in order to give effect to the conclusions we arrive at."

> As farmers we have rights and they must not be sacrificed. At the same time it must not be forgotten that our system of party and popular Government is the result of compromise and concession. Its policy is the embodiment of the average view of the majority of the voters.[145]

Hopkins was speaking of the S.G.G.A., not the individual, or collective, farmer, when he concluded by saying "Self-preservation is the first law of Nature."[146] When one delegate protested that the "coal resolution" did not go far enough, another replied that while there was a growing sentiment for government ownership of railways, "I do not consider that the time is ripe for that sort of thing, and I do not believe that the Government would undertake to do such a thing. We have always made it a practice to be moderate and ask for what we can get."[147] On virtually every resolution the Partridges pressed for more extreme statements. When a Regina delegate suggested the railways be forced to provide cars for "a responsible shipper" within six days, H. O. Partridge objected that "the last speaker does not go far enough yet. I think that the railway company should be compelled to haul a car a certain distance every day." He added his support for the more aggressive M.G.G.A. demands.[148] Such recurrent divergence of opinion led to most resolutions being referred to committee. When a resolution to force the railways to build elevators at points requiring storage was referred to committee, Partridge was outraged by the manner in which it was done.

> Mr. Partridge: I would suggest that this resolution be referred to twelve persons interested who live near these small stations . . .
> Mr. (William) Lennox: Name the committee.
> A number of delegates here rose to their feet and as fast as they did so the President moved them to act on the committee.
> Mr. Partridge: I think this matter one of vital importance, and I think you Mr. President have been too hasty.[149]

Resolution 14, 21 February 1907, which covered the essential points of the Partridge Plan, called for government control of all

terminal elevators, operated by a government Commission, the Railway Commission and the S.G.G.A., "the whole cost to be borne by the grain trade."[150] Partridge argued at length in favour of the plan.

> I think it is a sinister thing for private concerns to obtain control of terminal elevators. The province should take the initial steps to provide an internal system of elevators. If adequate storage facilities were provided at all points, where a farmer could deliver his grain so that he would be able to finance upon it . . . he certainly would be greatly benefited.[151]

Objections were raised by A. Hamilton and R. C. Sanderson, two Indian Head delegates loyal to Motherwell and the Liberal party. F. W. Green supported the plan. Following much heated debate on the details of the proposal the resolution was passed. H. O. Partridge suggested that the Saskatchewan government be requested to provide a committee to discuss internal elevators with the S.G.G.A. The resolution was thus passed over strong objections, but in 1907 there was substantial grass roots support within the S.G.G.A. for the Partridge Plan.

When Hopkins addressed Regina City Council at a banquet, 20 February 1907, he spoke of the enthusiastic optimism still prevalent throughout the west. Describing the future in optimistic terms, he counselled caution.

> We are told that we are the last Great West; that this is the very last chance that the old Anglo-Saxon race will have to build a great nation out of an undeveloped country. We are on the threshold of great developments. We have a better chance than any other people ever had, because we have more history behind us. Our opportunities are great and our responsibility is correspondingly great.[152]

Partridge's more radical, non-partisan approach would prove increasingly unacceptable to this staid parliamentary, party-oriented approach to

agrarian reform.

VIII

From the beginning the Partridge Plan had powerful enemies in the Liberal Cabinet. In January 1907 a farmer from Cupar, Saskatchewan wrote to W. R. Motherwell about plans to build a farmers' elevator. Fearing that the Partridge Plan would render such elevators obsolete by going into direct competition with them, under government supervision, he asked Motherwell whether the Saskatchewan government had a plan to initiate the scheme. He cited strong speeches in favor of the project by J. W. Robson, M.P.P. for Swan River in the Manitoba House as reason for his concern. Motherwell replied that he was "diametrically opposed" to the Partridge Plan, ridiculing it as dependent upon uncertain action which western provinces "may or may not take." Noting that all western grain trade was regulated by the federal department of trade and commerce, he criticized "Mr. Partridge's scheme" as being

> . . . evolved from start to finish without any reference whatever as to whether the Department of Trade and Commerce would put official inspectors and weighing masters in the proposed elevators. You will note also the very simple manner in which it is proposed to get the wheat shipped out of these elevators. That also is dependent upon something that may or may not occur - some amendments that may or may not be made to the Grain Act.

In conclusion Motherwell dismissed Partridge out of hand. "You can see that the whole idea is based upon a wrong assumption . . ."[153] It was, however, Partridge's intention to change business-government relationships, and overcome the inherent "assumptions" of the existing system. Motherwell's political conservatism and Partridge's innovative

approach are clearly contrasted here.

Two days later Motherwell had second thoughts. Assessing the growing popularity of the Partridge Plan among his agricultural constituents, he gave his permission to have the letter read at a meeting, "but I do not desire it for publication . . .."[154] Thenceforth Motherwell's antagonism was moderated by political acumen.

Motherwell appears to have taken every opportunity to criticise the G.G.G.C., questioning in November 1907 "how any well informed person is justified in expecting any more from them than from any other grain company or any other member of the Grain Exchange." He counselled caution to A. Shepherd from Rathwell, Manitoba, who had expressed his intention of forming a "farmers' elevator association" to export grain free of "the monopoly Grain element (i.e. Grain Exchange)." "It may possibly be as well to wait . . . before taking any definite action along any line in the matter of any alleged grievances that may exist."[155] Although accusing Partridge of leading his followers into the wilderness, this counsel to wait proved too much. "It is not only this year but it is every year the same and so it will remain until the Farmers formulate some scheme that will bring about competition," Shepherd replied. Motherwell had misread the denunciation of Partridge. Shepherd felt that even if the federal government

> should take over the terminals and operate them this will only take away one limb from the octopus. I admit a very important member but it will still leave the exporters masters of the field.[156]

Requests deluged Motherwell from as far away as Pincher Creek. Replies always worked to undercut the Partridge Plan.[157]

IX

Against the resistance of the S.G.G.A. executive and Liberal Cabinet, extending even to his old comrade-in-arms, Motherwell, Partridge responded with a deluge of circulars and pamphlets. The message was always essentially the same.

> The Company is working for the Government ownership of elevators, both terminal and line, in order that you may store your grain without having it at the mercy of dealers and speculators and raise money on it before it is sold, so that you may pay your more pressing debts in the Fall and hold for a fair price, which is assured to you when the milling demand becomes keen enough. We fling our wheat on the market now in excess of the demand; at certain seasons of the year the price goes down and the speculators load up with it, later on when the wheat is out of the farmers' hands the price goes up.[158]

Noting that farmers had sold grain by the wagon load, then let the grain accumulate in elevators, then built farmers' elevators and shipped by car load, Partridge proclaimed the G.G.G.C. as "Nothing radical, just an evolution, keeping pace with the world's progress in other fields."[159] Seeking to relieve concern over the practicality of the G.G.G.C. aroused by influential men and organizations, Partridge concluded that it had "passed the experimental stage. Nearly two and one-half million bushels of grain were handled by it during last year."[160] A three page circular was released detailing the means by which the plan could be realized. Economy of scale would be achieved by use of standardized concrete elevators. At points with elevators, owners could sell to the government or go into competition with the government elevator. Storage receipts could be used by farmers as collateral. Use of elevators for storage only "would eliminate any temptation to

give light weights, take heavy dockages, mis-grade . . ." When shipment was desired, a car would be provided within one week, or under a proposed amendment to the Grain Act, the railway would be charged for further storage occurring against the grain.[161] This was the plan labelled "a nice fairy tale" by Motherwell.

On 16 July 1907 Partridge addressed the Annual Shareholders Meeting in Winnipeg. Heavily laden with the rhetoric of the social gospel, his talk most clearly supports Richard Allen's contention that "the social gospel and the ideology of the agrarian revolt coincided."[162] Of the selfish farmer who resisted pleas for co-operation, Partridge said they were "children of the same Infinite Father, but with their spiritual consciousness not yet sufficiently developed to recognize their relationship either to Him or to their fellow men."[163] He called for the development among the western agricultural community for "race consciousness," the consciousness of "absolute solidarity and complete community of interest of the human race . . ." This he saw as a more exalted concept than class consciousness

> . . . but it is only through the development of the latter that the former can be attained. Class consciousness is the evolutionary road to race consciousness. National conciousness is an intermediate stage on the journey.[164]

Looking to the class-oriented trade unions emerging internationally, Partridge called for a "farmers' trade union." This could best be achieved by support for the G.G.G.C.[165] Private ownership of railways, elevators and natural resources would have to be removed before the farmer could "enjoy even to a moderate extent the fruit of his labour."[166] Partridge looked forward to a time when farmers could strike by

withholding their produce, own their own banking institutions and assume their due position in Canadian society. His admonition was for self-sacrifice.

> A man is capable of communistic effort and self-sacrifice; a hog is a rank individualist and utterly selfish.
>
> John Ruskin was a man; Russell Sage was a hog.[167]

In March Partridge had notified Crerar that a projected conference to discuss his plans would be cancelled due to the federal election campaign which would steal its thunder, and requested that Crerar promote the plan for government ownership.[168] In May he suggested Crerar consider assuming responsibility in the G.G.G.C. board of directors. "In preparing to sever my connection with the Company in an official capacity at that time, I have been a good deal disturbed as to personnel of the incoming Directorate. We must have men of vigor and determination with lots of initiative and courage."[169] At Partridge's suggestion Crerar called a protest meeting of farmers' elevator operators concerned by efforts of the line elevators to squeeze them out of business.[170] With the public recognition this attracted, Crerar, once more at Partridge's suggestion, attended an informal directors' meeting held the day before the annual convention in Winnipeg.[171] Crerar was judged acceptable, and at the Convention the following day, Crerar was elected President under Partridge's sponsorship. Although praised highly by the auditor for his business acumen, and for leading the G.G.G.C. through a difficult period, Partridge was more interested in what he considered "the educational aspects" of the Company.[172]

Partridge seems to have anticipated the incipient impulses

toward organizational conformity. Having chosen a man he felt he could trust as his successor, he turned to other areas. Following his farm accident in the fall of 1907, his reliance upon the pen as his chief instrument of influence increased. In December when he wrote to Crerar, he noted that he was "poor at getting about yet, but I think you had better put me in charge of the Publicity and Intelligence Department. I could look after press notices, advertising, public opinion moulding, etc. . . ."[173]

X

In 1908 agitation for the Partridge Plan, although checked by many forces in Saskatchewan, began to gain acceptability in Manitoba. In his home province Partridge was denounced as a "blatant demagogue" by its premier, Walter Scott.[174] In Manitoba, however, Rodmond Roblin called a meeting of the prairie premiers in May 1908 to discuss the plan. Scott, like Motherwell, kept his skepticism regarding the Partridge Plan to himself.[175] This was undoubtedly based on the observation that all three grain growers' associations had recently voted varying degrees of approval for the Partridge Plan. These successes had been achieved through the actions of the Interprovincial Council of Grain Growers' and Farmers' Associations, founded in 1907.

To prepare for the meeting W. R. Martin asked Scott to send information on the question of government ownership.

Motherwell sent nothing to Martin, claiming that "There is no particular literature or material available in Saskatchewan . . ."

Ignoring Partridge's voluminous writings, he referred Martin to the Department of Trade and Commerce for the report of the Royal Commission.[177] Motherwell contended that amendments to the Grain Act in 1908 had given grain growers "every safeguard and security in the way of control that government ownership would give."

> There are a certain number who will always keep on clamoring for anything that savors of government ownership, apparently holding the view that without actual ownership there is no adequate control, but this is, to my mind, an entire misapprehension.

Motherwell contended that "this is the opinion of practically everyone familiar with the situation."[178]

Under such influences the premiers took the position that government ownership would create a government monopoly and create constitutional problems by interfering with the jurisdiction of the federal government.[179] This placed the responsibility for the issue on the federal government.[180] This ploy by the provinces was generally rejected by the grain growers' associations.[181] Motherwell determined to mount a strong offensive "since Mr. Haultain is reported to have come out strongly in favor of government ownership of terminal elevators," and noted that when "discussed impartially" at farmers' meetings, farmers were easily dissuaded from their former views.[182] When he was deluged with petitions from grain growers' associations supporting the Partridge Plan, Motherwell diplomatically put them off by noting "this matter is now being considered before the Agriculture Committee . . . ."[183]

F. W. Green, Secretary of the S.G.G.A., added to the problems

of public acceptance faced by the Plan when he remarked that he was "not wedded to the policy of Government-owned elevators . . .." This statement before the Committee on Agriculture supports D. Spafford's thesis that in Saskatchewan "farmers' advocacy of public ownership gives the impression of being . . . less a reflex of collectivist doctrine than the calculated tactic of a pressure group."[184] Green added to his original statement that "the situation is such as to warrant some action being taken along some lines that would help to meet the situation . . ."

> . . . and even if that report does not favour Government-owned elevators there may be other ways whereby the Government can assist in such a manner as to bring about a betterment of conditions.[185]

XI

Partridge remained a director of the G.G.G.C. until 1911, and maintained intermittent relations with the S.G.G.A. until his death, using it as a platform and sounding board for his ideas. At this time he was "widely known as a social missionary and a prophet of economic justice for the farmer and the workingman."[186] It was natural that he should be chosen to voice the often inarticulate frustration of western farmers in the face of increasingly monopolistic control of local storage and handling facilities. Farmers noted the seemingly erratic arbitrary prices offered by local elevators. A. Rotstein notes that "price spreads between local elevators and the Winnipeg price seemed unjustifiably high, and the control of these elements . . . appeared entirely out of their hands."[187] At the same time, "protests and

arguments of the farmers about their plight were often groping and misplaced, and tended to be dismissed by those better versed in the refinements of economic theory."[188] Partridge could articulate these views brilliantly, offering homespun analogies to illustrate his economic points. He offered attractive economic arguments to support his Plan. "The Government system can be administered with less than one-half the tax that is now put on the grain, under the present system."[189] Use of storage receipts as collateral was an attractive idea as well.

During 1908 the G.G.G.C. faced increased financial problems when the Bank of British North America notified the Company of its intention to close out their account. Having just been reinstated on the Grain Exchange, and with a good crop to sell, this seemed like a new attempt to destroy the G.G.G.C. However W. H. Machaffie, the Winnipeg manager of the Bank of British North America, switched to the Home Bank and sought the G.G.G.C. account. In 1909 Edward, Henry, Thomas and Ralph Partridge were major shareholders in the bank.[190] Crerar warned Col. James Mason, general manager of the Home Bank, that Partridge was to visit Toronto to promote "a theory of his own in respect to the opening of Branch Banks."[191] Crerar was quick to dissociate the G.G.G.C. from Partridge's plans to exercise more direct influence over the running of the bank. "It is not the purpose of the Board of Control to instruct the Bank how to run its business."[192] Despite financial problems and realignment, the fight against the Grain Exchange provided effective publicity. The grain consignments

of the G.G.G.C. were doubled to five million bushels in the second year, and shareholders increased from less than four hundred to nearly three thousand by 1908.[193]

In 1908 money was available for a substantial "educational campaign" as well. This new fund covered printed material promoting the Partridge Plan. In his annual report the auditor noted that "while not immediately revenue producing" the campaign was of great benefit to the farming community.

> The seed thus sown will surely produce an abundant harvest in vastly improved conditions, and is a faithful attempt to attain to one of the ideals which the founders of the Company had in view . . . a systematic dissemination or diffusion of clear and definite information relative to farm life, and an attempt to place the farmer in his rightful position, the equal at least of those in other walks of life, in intelligence, in hope, and in comfort.[194]

In his presidential address Crerar warned that farmers were becoming dispirited, and many considered the G.G.G.C. "as the Company of a few men who happen to be at the head of it" rather than "a great co-operative movement of their class . . .."[195] Crerar also warned that in order to grow the G.G.G.C. "will require to be highly organized." Such organization, however, should not be unduly militant. "In the mad, debasing struggle for material riches and pleasure, which is so characteristic of our age, we often neglect and let go to decay the finer and higher side of our nature . . .."[196]

The year 1908 marked a year of business success and bureaucratic consolidation for the G.G.G.C. In that year bushels of grain handled by the G.G.G.C. doubled, rising from two and one-half million to five million. Shares rose from 1,853 to 2,932, and paid up capital

almost doubled. This was indicative of future successes. By 1911 the G.G.G.C. handled 18,845,306 bushels of grain, and boasted 11,785 shareholders; subscribed capital exceeded 615 million dollars.[197] During this year Partridge was instrumental in establishing the influential Grain Growers' Guide, which quickly became the foremost political voice of western agrarian discontent.[198] In addition he continued to promote a scheme whereby the financial structures of the various grain growers' organizations would be amalgamated to allow more efficient, farmer-owned banking institutions to evolve under grain growers' guidance.[199] Partridge was still advocating direct political influence upon political parties, although this met with widespread resistance. R. C. Sanderson wrote to Partridge that he saw no reason why the S.G.G.A. "should advocate the principles of a party which practically means yours any more than the Grit or Tory. The mixing of politics, commercialism, etcetera has smashed every Ass'n that ever tried it in the past, and ours would be no exception to the rule."[200] At the S.G.G.A. Annual Convention of 1908 Partridge introduced a sweeping amandment to a resolution which called for a compulsory hail insurance plan. Although H. O. Partridge expressed his apprehension about the idea of a compulsory scheme, and felt it could better be handled by local improvement district, or local or municipal organizations, Edward Partridge was as usual more radical. His amendment called for "a tax of all land in the province and an equivalent tax on all other taxable property," the reason for the clause being that increased prosperity for farmers resulted in greater

national prosperity generally. He favoured a plebiscite on this issue at the next general election as well.[201] Henry George, a significant figure in the development of the Canadian social gospel movement, and his theories regarding taxation, had obviously reached Partridge.[202] T. A. Crerar was also strongly influenced by George at this time.[203] The concept of a single tax was becoming increasingly popular in reform circles by this time, especially among agrarian reformists.[204]

While Partridge carried on his many causes from numerous platforms, his company replaced cash dividends with stock dividends, a further divergence from the pure co-operative ideal envisioned by him.[205]

However, he made further progress in promoting the Partridge Plan during this period. In 1907 H. O. Partridge and F. W. Green had travelled to Ottawa as delegates for the S.G.G.A. This delegation offered proof of the existence of a lumber combine and received government assurances that action would be taken to alleviate the problem. Henry Partridge then saw Sydney Fisher, the Minister of Agriculture, to discuss government control and operation of internal and terminal elevators. The delegation received a highly favourable response from the Liberal cabinet although its enthusiasm cooled rapidly following the delegation's departure.

> Sir R. Cartwright said if the people of the West are united that yours is the solution we would willingly put any amount of millions of dollars in it. The Hon. Mr. Fisher favored Mr. Partridge's scheme . . .[206]

Heartened by this apparent support the S.G.G.A. supported "the most important resolution of the convention," a call for support of the Partridge Plan, by a large majority.[207] Similar resolutions were

passed in Manitoba and Alberta. The S.G.G.A. claimed that it had hope for a federally-owned system, "but unfortunately the representatives of the Western provinces in the House of Commons are not numerous enough to commit the Dominion Government to such a scheme."[208] The system advocated was the equivalent of "a complete system of Farmers' Elevators.[209] The ultimate goal was "a single co-operative agency representing the farmers' which would handle most grain, reducing the Grain Exchange to a grade and sample market. Here the farmers' representatives could meet the milling representatives and exporters directly

> . . . and make sale of real grain without the presence of a speculative group and the frenzied activity of an option market where little other than fictitious wheat is bought and sold.[210]

In April 1908 Partridge was among a delegation of the Interprovincial Council of Grain Growers which appeared before Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce. Stressing that the delegation represented "the most intelligent and articulate of the farm population," Partridge reiterated the general outline of the Partridge Plan, along with a lengthy, detailed account of desired reforms in grain trade regulation.[211]

In his testimony before Cartwright, Partridge had pressed for federally-owned terminal elevators. He closed his lengthy, and sometimes emotional, testimony by calling on the Laurier government to acquire terminal elevators by lease or purchase in an effort to lower the difference between street and track prices.

> It is a matter of the utmost importance to us; our bread and butter and the prosperity of our country depend upon it. It is only the virgin fertility of new land at a low price, and the economical conditions under which we labour that

enable us, as the first settlers, to meet the situation in that country and we realize that we are simply holding our own.[212]

The federal government rejected the I.C.G.G. program.[213] The massive resistance of representatives of the Grain Exchange, C.P.R., Bankers' Association, and other groups was credited with this result. George Langley described the atmosphere at the hearing as hostile.[214] More rigid inspection resulted from the delegation's efforts, but no commitment was made on the Partridge Plan.[215] Hopkins felt it hopeful that "they practically commit themselves to the principle; let their preconceived difficulties be removed and the victory is ours."[216] However, the original concept of the Partridge Plan was destroyed at this confrontation, and thrown back upon the provinces. At the Eighth Annual S.G.G.A. Convention in 1909 Partridge suggested that the I.C.G.G. continue the struggle "after making a dignified rejoinder to the disingenuous reply of the premiers" who had recently absolved themselves of responsibility for the scheme.[217] However, increasing resistance to the Partridge Plan surfaced at this convention. One delegate opposed government ownership by noting that "Mr. Partridge had built up a fine castle, but the foundation was very weak."[218]

## XII

In 1909 the polarization of opinion regarding the Partridge Plan became more extreme. In March the Wolseley News warned Partridge that he was "losing time." Pointing to the development of the socialist party in British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario, and the Comrades of

Equity in Alberta, the editorial advised him to "have his class interest at heart . . . ."

> You might better fight in the open as a socialist than spend years making friends in the old parties. From the reports of the Grain Growers' conventions all the farmers of this province require is to have socialism explained, to gain their support. They are socialists now but do not know it.[219]

This newspaper concluded by advising Partridge to "organize the farmers into a party. You will never gain your ends at the labor union halls (Grain Growers' Conventions). You must capture the legislative halls."[220] The Regina Morning Leader devoted an editorial to warning the farmers to remain non-partisan. "All true friends of the Grain Growers' Association will pray to be delivered from such 'friends' as The News and E. A. Partridge."[221] In fact, Partridge would promote esssentially socialistic theories in 1930 and 1931, and in his book A War on Poverty.[222] In 1909 however, this was a misrepresentation of Partridge's views, and it may have been deliberate as the party-affiliated newspapers began to see in Partridge larger versions of tneir own hopes and fears.

In 1909 E. N. Hopkins, F. W. Green, E. A. Partridge and a press contingent undertook an "auto tour" of Saskatchewan. The Grain Growers' Guide boasted that it was a unique method to promote the Partridge Plan, "and it stamps Saskatchewan at once as one of the most progressive provinces in the world."[223] Between 4 October and 29 October the tour followed a course through sixty villages and hamlets along the Soo, Arcola, Prince Albert and Outlook branch lines. Handbills covered the country, and mass meetings were called.[224] Partridge distinguished

himself by delivering a series of rousing, emotional speeches. Green remarked at one point, "If any farmers can sit quiet through your speech, Partridge, I know it is no use for me to try to rouse them." An observer noted that "Mr. Partridge stirs one deep down, and his words are like a battle call."[225]

At the organizational meeting for this tour Motherwell had spoken, disapproving of Partridge's views. Partridge suggested farmers "would not get justice until they chose their own candidates without machine interference," a view not likely to be endorsed by Motherwell.[226]

The demands of the auto tour proved too much for Partridge's increasingly fragile health. Following the loss of his leg in 1907, a further amputation was required the next year. "From then on one of the hallmarks of E. A. Partridge became a heavy limp and a knotted black stick."[227] In late 1909 E. N. Hopkins, in his last presidential address to the S.G.G.A. informed the delegates that Partridge "had to seek the sunny south in an endeavor to regain his lost health and strength," and concluded his address by hoping he would "speedily be fully restored and be enabled to return to us."[228]

It was during this period however, that J. A. Maharg, C. A. Dunning and J. B. Musselman rose to positions of prominence in the S.G.G.A. All these men developed strong links to the provincial Liberal government, and to varying degrees formed a strong alliance against Partridge in his various crusades at the S.G.G.A. Convention by 1920. Their rise to power transformed the S.G.G.A. into a more

moderate body.[229] Musselman and Maharg subsequently reversed their stand to support a farmers' party in 1921 however.[230] By 1916 Dunning was actively seeking a Liberal-farmer liaison, although this was repudiated by the Grain Growers' Guide.[231] The emergence of the cautious approach was complete by 1910-11, when the Saskatchewan government and grain growers' associations were called upon to decide the fate of the Partridge Plan.

At a time when his presence was most needed at the S.G.G.A. Conventions, Partridge had to write from San Antonio. His letter was entered into the minutes of the 1910 Convention.

> You will understand when I tell you that my general nervous condition is such that even the reading of the reports of what is going on greatly upsets me. I underwent a complete reamputation of my leg. I regret to say that it is not healing as satisfactorily as I hoped for . . .[232]

Forced to follow the battle through mailed copies of the Grain Growers' Guide and the Winnipeg newspapers, Partridge nevertheless felt it his duty to rally the troops in the "Army of the Common Good." To these he offered praise for helping to bring in "the Kingdom" which could only result from a sufficient number "seeking after righteousness," which he interpreted to mean wisdom. He warned that material prosperity meant little if it did not lead men to follow "the truths enunciated in the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount."

> Our chief limitation as a class is the lack of proper ideals as to what environment, opportunities, interests and activities are necessary to the leading of full and dignified lives. We so seldom remember that . . . we are children of the Eternal Father and as such co-heirs to all the possibilities and possessions of an infinite Universe. We lack dignity. We give honor to those who consume rather than to those who create. With the ballot in our hands we bow down to those who stole our national heritage

> and are daily stealing our opportunities to cherish our wives and educate our children, under forms of law which outrage all sense of human or divine justice in the mind of every honest thoughtful man.[233]

In this letter Partridge seems to have briefly backed away from his earlier outspoken criticisms. He counselled that farmers' publications should "suggest truths rather than enunciate them frankly lest the bitterist opposition come from those it was created to serve."[234] However, despite his obvious concern that the S.G.G.A. was about to betray his plan, Partridge suggested that it follow the lead of the more aggressive M.G.G.A. "as they have given much more time and study to the problem in its present form than any of our own members, perhaps myself excluded."[235]

Partridge presented his political philosophy in this letter as concisely as he ever would.

> Education of our people, children and adults, in the truths of economics and the duties of citizenship, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, Public Ownership of Public Utilities and Natural Resources brought about largely by the Taxation of Land Values . . . and the imposition of heavy and steeply graduated succession dues, and possibly graduated income taxes as well, to hasten the breaking up of fortunes large enough to be a menace to good government - these are the means by which involuntary poverty and ignorance will be banished from the earth.[236]

Despite his plea for support, the moderate element led by Motherwell led a strong resistance movement against S.G.G.A. support. George Langley led a counter-campaign. Resolutions favouring the Plan were successful after a contenious debate.[237]

When Partridge returned from San Antonio, he went back to live on his farm and to continue his propaganda efforts. However, it was necessary to hire a man to help him run the farm, a plan complicated

by his offer of a rather low rate of pay.[238] Partridge continued to travel the countryside accompanied by his sympathetic neighbors. This year apparently saw a widespread campaign of newspaper attacks on the Partridge Plan still being promoted strenuously by "the Ontario group around Sintaluta."[239]

At the 1910 Convention Motherwell succeeded in having the general thrust of delegate opinion detoured by calling for a Royal Commission to investigate the Partridge Plan. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Robert Magill of Dalhousie University, and also including F. W. Green and George Langley of the S.G.G.A., this Commission held hearings throughout Saskatchewan. At Carlyle, a man named Neigh suggested that the government provide money for a system of elevators, but retrain from direct control. This suggestion was "the first germ of the idea which later developed into the co-operative elevator system . . ." The Magill Commission report recommended that the provincial government provide eighty-five per cent of the money necessary to build elevators at any point where farmers could provide the remaining fifteen percent. This brilliant compromise led to numerous organization meetings where shares were sold to farmers. In effect, the Magill Commission killed the Partridge Plan in Saskatchewan, and the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company rose in its place in 1911.[240]

In 1911 Partridge returned to the Convention to argue his case. Noting the unanimous support of the S.G.G.A. in 1909 and 1910, Partridge criticized the Magill Commission.

> Now I believe that there has been some misapprehension as to the duty of the commission (recommended) by the executive. The executive appointed the commission to investigate the details of government ownership and not to investigate various schemes.[241]

When the Commission recommendations passed in 1910, Partridge acknowledged that "we who have lost have put up a fight for which we believed was right. We are in the minority. We bow to the will of the majority and will endeavour to work with them as we have against them." Partridge then voted against his original plan in order to render a unanimous vote.[242]

It is clear however, that he felt that the delegates had been manipulated by an executive which did not represent their true feelings. He moved that any candidate for director should be required

> . . . to clearly define his attitude towards every question of importance coming before the Convention to ensure the election of men whose views harmonize with the body of the Convention and who therefore can be relied upon to carry out the will of the Convention.[243]

By this time however, the Plan had been discredited in Manitoba. In 1909 the Roblin government had unilaterally instituted the Partridge Plan in its basic form under a commission of administration in 1910, 163 country elevators were acquired and ten built at a cost of over one million dollars.[244] By 1911 the system was experiencing severe financial setbacks.

When a commission was established in Manitoba to investigate the rapid failure of the new system, it brought in a strongly critical appraisal. The Manitoba Elevator Commission was placed under D. W. McQuaig, president of the M.G.G.A., who had spearheaded the campaign

for government ownership in Manitoba. When the plan failed disasterously due to its efforts to compete with farmer elevators, the grain growers themselves were burdened with the responsibility.[245]

When a commission was appointed to investigate, its findings demonstrated that public ownership meant a continuing public liability. Matt Snow, the Deputy Warehouse Commissioner at Winnipeg, wrote to Motherwell about the report with a certain malicious glee, that

> . . . while it is not very complete it is still quite an eye-opener to the people up here. The Opposition do not want to admit it and are wiggling around in every direction to find a way of escape from the inevitable conclusion the report and Mr. McQuaig's speech at Brandon point to. I am sure the Manitoba House will have a feast ahead of them when they come to deal with this matter.[246]

By December 1911 Motherwell could report that the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Commission "has got nicely on its feet and is being patronized very liberally by the farmers in the vicinity of each local." There were already forty-six such locals. Motherwell saw the system as having "all the advantages of a line elevator, combined with the advantages of a farmers' elevator, with local loyal support and direct monetary assistance . . ."[247]

Partridge argued that the Manitoba bill was weak in that it had not been supported "by the farmers and grain growers in general." Proper grading could not be done as there was insufficient power given to deal with small lots of grain shipped by individual farmers. Other faults were found in the implementation of his Plan.[248] However, Motherwell dismissed such criticism. "Of course there are always some kickers - that is to be expected, but in the main everything is going along first class."[249]

Chapter Six:

FINAL YEARS 1908-1931

E. A. Partridge pursued a number of causes by various means following his removal from a position where he could directly influence the direction taken by the G.G.G.C. or S.G.G.A. The cautious approach to agrarian and political reform was reinforced in Saskatchewan after 1911. During the 1911 federal election Walter Scott drew what he considered the lesson of the failed Partridge Plan very clearly for his audience. He noted that in 1909 "this was the one great question before the grain growers of Saskatchewan," but was now a dead issue.[1] In 1908 Scott had been deluged by resolutions from virtually every S.G.G.A. local supporting Partridge.[2] Scott had expressed his belief that the conservatism of most Saskatchewan farmers could be counted upon, however.[3] He had been advised by Frank Moffatt not to take the agitation at the 1909 S.G.G.A. convention in Weyburn too seriously. Moffatt felt that "the better farmers are opposed to the Government taking this step, but the Convention seemed to be in the hands of agitators, who were more interested in the Grain Growers' Grain Company than in the welfare of the farmer."[4] In his 1911 speech therefore, Scott felt vindicated when he drew unfavorable comparison with the Conservative Roblin Government.

> The Manitoba Conservative Government, without holding any inquiry into the matter, went in for Government ownership and operation and spent an enormous sum of money buying old elevators and building new ones. The Saskatchewan Government waited carefully.

> The Manitoba Government said "We will take over the initial elevators and operate them ourselves." The Scott Government said "We will do better than that; we will let the farmers own and operate their own elevators with the financial assistant of Government." Talk about direct legislation? The Saskatchewan elevator system is a step ahead of direct legislation, it is direct government by the people interested.[5]

Having temporarily diverted the populist uprising by 1911, the established political parties and grain growers groups in Saskatchewan turned toward consolidating their positions. Within this context Crerar also increasingly exemplified a more conciliatory approach. Political support, he wrote, "cannot be secured by bully-ragging the Government or calling them names . . ."[6] This philosophy was increasingly applied to the dealings of the G.G.G.C. as well. Most influential farm leaders seemed to share George Edward's view that "the Co-operative Elevator System was a great success from the very beginning."[7] Rather than advocating sweeping social and political changes, the G.G.G.C. directorate after 1908 turned more toward the demands of a growing office staff. In 1908 the Grain Exchange moved into newer, larger offices to be near it.[8] Partridge became increasingly critical of the directions taken by the company, and disagreements with Crerar became more frequent.

The first of these occurred in 1908, a year marked by business success and bureaucratic consolidation for the G.G.G.C. Within this context Partridge's brief, stormy editorship of the Grain Growers' Guide is understandable. The role of education was paramount for many farmer's organizations. Guy Cyrenne concludes that the main aim of the T.G.G.A. in 1901 "was to solve and to eliminate if possible the obstacles

to profitable farming through a program of educating the farmer."[9] Partridge first called for a farmers' organ at the 1904 convention.[10] After stepping down as G.G.G.C. president Partridge, dissatisfied with coverage in the Farm and Ranch Review, found space for his company in a small agricultural paper called Farm Crops. The idea of a farmers' paper had been discussed at the founding convention of the Interprovincial Council of Grain Growers.[11]

However, it was not until 1908 that the G.G.G.C. was able to establish its own publication. Crerar originally suggested that the company produce a journal modelled after that of the Teachers' Association.[12] Partridge was appointed provisional editor in late 1907. At this time Partridge believed in "an alliance and co-operation of all useful workers, whether in the field, factory, mine, or elsewhere, to secure legislation in the common interest . . ." to this end "education in economics that would make plain the causes of the unsatisfactory conditions surrounding the lines of the workers' was the first step in this alliance. Education necessarily preceded political action. Eventually, through education, "those who live by working" could take control of the political parties so "the affairs of the Country could be administered in the interest of the workers."[13]

In 1908 the first issue of the Grain Growers' Guide contained Partridge's first and only editorial. This outlined the major points of his political philosophy, including public ownership for a wide variety of utilities and services, as well as natural resources. He called for non-partisan political activism to secure agrarian reforms.

He reiterated the higher goal of such activism. "The soul is more than the body; the life is more that meat." What immediately caused trouble for Partridge was his suggestion that "the leaders of the various Farmers' Associations and Trade Unions will employ this paper as a medium for giving publicity to the views held by their several organizations."[14] The proposed farm-labour connection caused concern among the G.G.G.C. directors. Under Crerar's guidance "they favoured the easing of anger, and the building of business through loyalty to an efficient service." Partridge's philosophy did not suit "the new commercial attitudes of the company he had created."[15]

Partridge broke with Crerar and Kennedy over the issue of who should publish the Guide. The G.G.G.C. executive felt the M.G.G.A. should publish it. This organization would be more capable of absorbing anticipated libel charges. Partridge felt his company should be responsible for the editorial opinion. He angrily handed in his resignation. Crerar and Kennedy contacted Roderick McKenzie to replace Partridge, apparently to forestall their troublesome editor from changing his mind. When Partridge did change his mind the next day, there was a new editor in charge of the Grain Growers' Guide.[16]

Partridge continued to promote closer relations with labour however, and this kept Crerar uneasy. R. C. Sanderson had warned Partridge of dissatisfaction among a growing number of grain growers; noting that "making the Guide our official organ under its present style of management would be resented by a part of our membership . . ."[17]

Despite such warnings Partridge continued to promote a liaison

between farm and labour groups. In May 1909 Crerar chastized him for initiating new advances along those lines, and accused Partridge of misleading the G.G.G.C. directors into believing these came originally from "the Trades and Labor People," and that some labor union members "had represented to you that a large section of their body was dissatisfied with the Voice." Crerar had to call the editor of the Voice, Arthur Puttee, to convince him the G.G.G.C. was not attempting to undercut the Voice.[18] Puttee's philosophy was "an amalgam of Marxism and Christianity, populism and liberalism." He was an advocate of "gas and water socialism," arguing that "public ownership as an antidote to corporate monopoly had something of the sweetness of liberty itself in it."[19] Although certain aspects of Puttee's philosophy appealed to Partridge, the grain growers perhaps remembered his criticism that urban workers had "to bear the whole brunt of carrying immigrant labour on a labour market for nine months in order that farmers may use it for two or three months."[20] Nevertheless a meeting was held between the G.G.G.C. and Voice directorates, at which the "labour" representatives "entirely disavowed any intention or desire on the part of the Trades & Labor Council to in any way injure the Voice" by such an alliance as Partridge suggested. In the United States farm-labour co-operation in the west was stronger. The Farmers' Alliance and Nebraska Independent was typical of this sentiment when it observed that "the interests of rural and urban labor are the same and that their enemies are the private controllers of credit, commerce and land . . ." Agrarian organizations supported Coxey's industrial army

and the Pullman strike. Both groups shared a common belief in public ownership.[21] Most farmers in western Canada dealt with harvest labour but were often unconcerned with labour problems. George Edwards defended the U.F.C. (Saskatchewan Section) in its request to have such labourers excluded from Workmen's Compensation Acts. Similar requests came from farm organizations in all western provinces.[22] Western Canadian labour was generally weakened by the precarious nature of the western economy. The National Policy retarded western industrial growth and discouraged the move to work out a peaceful relationship with western labour. Therefore western unions were more militant than might be expected.[23] D. J. Bercuson concludes that the western Canadian industrial frontier "was the chief stimulus to the development of class consciousness and radical working-class attitudes in the Canadian West."[24] Such trends were reinforced by the intervention of American organizers after 1902.[25] The failure to form a liaison between farm and labour in western Canada was due to the increasingly radical reputation of the unions, and the mutual distrust between the unions and increasingly conservative farm organizations.

Partridge continued to use the Grain Growers' Guide as a platform for his ideas however. In September 1909 he debunked the idea of the existence of a free press, contending that the party-affiliated press was one of the farmers' most serious enemies. "There is no longer an attempt made to speak honestly for the people."[26] He also wrote a lengthy defence of public ownership of lands, and land taxes. Citing such social gospellers as Walter Rauchenbusch, he praised the social

usefulness of The Single Tax as "a system that to my mind promises to correct much of the injustice and inequality found among us today."[27] He quoted Henry George to the effect that the land was a gift of God to every generation, "which all may use, but none may claim as his alone." To check public owernship, Partridge concluded, "checks the march of civilization and indefinitely delays the coming of the kingdom for which the Christ so earnestly labored . . ."[28] Following the American precedents, he promoted the use of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall as "the political duty of farmers."[29] In language characterized by more than a tinge of nativism, he supported female suffrage.

> What an outrage to deny to the highest minded, most cultured native-born lady of Canada what is cheerfully granted to the lowest browed, most imbruted foreign hobo that chooses to visit our shores.[30]

Partridge also recommended that the primary be introduced, that the sub-associations be developed as "an active organized centre of thought in every community," that the S.G.G.A. be renamed the Grain Growers' and Stockmens' Association. His efforts were always to expand the horizon of that organization, to prevent what he saw as growing complacency.[31]

Behind this deluge of proposals the one unifying principle remained the Ruskinian maxim "The only wealth is life." However, "underlying the social problem is always the economic problem." Partridge saw the G.G.G.C. as ushering in the Kingdom, "building perhaps better than we know." His proposal for Coalsamao, an independent western nation based on Christian concepts of sharing, was an advance

upon his earlier view.[32]

II

In 1907 Partridge was instrumental in the formation of the I.C.G.G. In 1909 he was one of the principal organizers for the Canadian Council of Agriculture. George Edwards later wrote that the "C.C.A. rendered useful service to farmers in the different provinces (but) it was hampered for lack of funds as the only source of revenue was the membership fees of members and these were always small . . ."[33] D. W. McCuaig, Partridge's staunchest ally in promoting government-ownership in Manitoba, was elected the C.C.A.'s first president. The platform contained the majority of points Partridge had been advocating for years.[34] This was the case in 1916 as well.[35]

For over a decade the western farmers had resented what they termed "the betrayal of 1897," in which the Laurier Liberals had repudiated their free trade views to accommodate the central Canadian electorate.[36] Under the protective tariff the Grain Growers' Guide saw the beginning of a "ruling plutocracy." Within twenty-five years the wealth of Canada would be controlled by a hundred men "and the most of it by a score."

> It is coming with tremendous speed, and then only one thing will prevent hopeless misery for the poorer classes. That will be a revolution that will shake Canada to its very foundations.[37]

In 1910 Motherwell addressed a convention of agricultural societies in Regina. There he argued that during the preceding decade "a constant evolution had been taking place in the betterment and uplift

of rural conditions."[38]

Partridge tended more to the revolutionary theory, and was pleased to see a national coalition of farmers converge upon Ottawa to present their case to the government. Rural anxieties were increased by rapid urbanization, which was more swift in the west than elsewhere,[39] although it was also a significant problem throughout Canada.[40] It was this trend which allowed the formation of a national coalition; rural depopulation was blamed by Dominion Grange spokesmen, such as E. C. Drury, upon the protective tariff, which excluded farmers from American markets.[41]

In the summer of 1910 Laurier toured the west, listening to farmers' grievances. These were almost all centred upon the evils of protective tariffs.[42] Typical of the statements made at that time was Edward Porritt's bleak view of the future. Describing the disenfranchisement of the western farmer, who had voted for free trade only to be betrayed, Porritt described the situation in flamboyant, exaggerated terms.

> Democracy must ultimately win in the great struggle that begins with the revolt of 1910, or the condition of the farmers and of the wage and salary earners of Canada must become infinitely harder and more insecure than the lot of people under the Old Feudalism as described in the court rolls and manorial records of medieval England.[43]

In December 1910 some eight hundred farmers' delegates launched the "siege of Ottawa." This was a carefully orchestrated protest movement designed to change Laurier's position back to support for free trade. W. L. Morton describes the delegates as being "received in state by the cabinet and heard in the Commons chamber."[44] The familiar arguments

were presented once more.[45] Partridge, at the height of his fight for government-owned elevators in the west, and hopeful of success, observed that the "work in which we are engaged is not a local one. It is a part of a great world movement."[46] He repeated the necessity for non-partisanship. "If you cannot control the two devils which you have, why should you create a third." Partridge saw the role of new organizations and schemes as creating a climate in which the "universal purposelessness of life" might be overcome.

> The ideal is to establish better human relations, better relationship between the manufacturer and the consumer, better relationship between the working men in the towns and the farmers in the country, to replace the secretiveness and the suspicion of the present with a spirit of much confidence and good will.[47]

Partridge concluded by distinguishing between commercial and economic solutions. As an example he cited the farmer who received five cents more for a bushel of wheat. This would increase the cost of his land. Thus "all men who want land must buy it, and they will buy it at an enhanced price, owing to the fact that there has been an increase of five cents per bushel in wheat." The solution to this dilemma Partridge saw as the Single Tax. He therefore suggested that the C.C.A. should "convince the farmer that the single tax would not bear heavily on him, and . . . convince the mechanic in the town that he does not permanently benefit by the imposition of a protective tariff."[48]

Laurier's cabinet considered the strength of the delegation, and the fact that the 1911 census would guarantee a major redistribution of seats in the House of Commons, resulting in increased western

strength.[49] Concessions were made, although reciprocity was "so confused with imperial relations and the future of Canada as a nation that the economics of farming was almost completely drowned in the uproar."[50] Nevertheless, the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911 proposed concurrent Canadian and American legislation for reciprocity in the trade of natural products and certain manufactures. This sudden access of Canadian farmers to American markets was greeted as a victory.[51] However, the agricultural vote was not sufficient to carry the country, and the Liberals were defeated, partly through the efforts of Central Canadian industrial interests.[52] Borden realized that "of all the groups in Canadian Society, the farmers seemed to have the most grievances and the most political power to demand that they be corrected."[53] Despite this the Borden government resisted the farmers' demands, and the C.C.A. victory was short-lived. Plans were undertaken to continue the Hudson Bay Railway, "that other panacea for western farmers,"[54] but the major issue had been the Tariff. Though Crerar suggested no major results had been expected "by the thoughtful leaders of the delegation," the defeat was a significant one for farmers, and for Partridge personally.

## III

Partridge's final break with the G.G.G.C. came in 1912. In March four directors resigned "as a protest against the unsatisfactory way the business of the Company had been conducted this last two or three years."[55] This referred to A. M. Blackburn's purchase of oats

for speculative purposes. When Partridge demanded Blackburn's dismissal, Crerar refused. This led Partridge to resign, taking John Kennedy with him.[56] One of the chief arguments levelled by Partridge against the Grain Exchange was that it resembled "a gambling hell." The speculation in oats outraged Partridge.

> My dream, as an organizer of the Grain Growers' Grain Company was to see the company provide an entirely dependable medium for the passage of the grain from the farmer to the hands of the ultimate user with the least circumlocution and cost.[57]

Partridge and Spencer pressured the G.G.G.C. to provide financial restitution for losses incurred by individuals resulting from the speculation in their oats.[58] Partridge took nine major figures in the Company with him when he left. Crerar explained the crisis as "very largely a personal one between Mr. Partridge and myself,"[59] and accused Partridge of throwing upon his shoulders "the responsibility for all the misdeeds and difficulties incident to the business that have taken place in the last three or four years." He complained further that Partridge and his investigators had harassed him by their "presence in the office for four months last winter."

> I may say that Mr. Partridge's prominence in the Company has always been a disturbing factor in the minds of the financial institutions from which we have to get our support. I do not believe in sacrificing principle on any occasion. At the same time I do not think it advisable for a Company in the position ours is in to put itself in the position of seeking a row rather than avoiding it.[60]

In response to the Partridge group's criticisms, Crerar levelled a full scale attack on their views. In addition to an address in the Grain Growers' Guide, he circulated an interoffice memorandum denouncing Partridge's presence as divisive and harmful to the G.G.G.C. While

praising Kennedy as being able to work "honestly to the advantage of the Company," he suggested that "with Mr. Partridge it is different."

> His presence in the office is a decidedly disturbing factor. He stands for little interference with his pleasure, and is impatient of any difference with his opinion. He has often stated himself that he is an idealist and does not want to be burdened with ordinary matters of business. To be frank I think the interest of the office would be best served by his withdrawal from it. I say that with a high admiration of the work Mr. Partridge has done in other directions in the past.[61]

Crerar suggested that Partridge be replaced by George Langley or George Newell. Partridge had left the board of directors of the S.G.G.A. in 1911. By 1912, after being forced out of the G.G.G.C., he was cut off from any effective role in agrarian organizations.

In 1912 Premier Roblin was approached by the G.G.G.C. with regard to leasing the Manitoba elevators remaining from the Partridge Plan experiment.[62] This was on condition, however, that the provincial government would assume the responsibility of providing for the financial arrangements in the transfer.[63] Eventually, the details were worked out and the G.G.G.C. came into possession of the Manitoba elevators.

During 1912 Partridge established the Square Deal Company and canvassed the country attempting to set up another farmer-owned co-operative as he had with the G.G.G.C. These efforts failed. Prosperous conditions still prevailed generally, and farmers were satisfied with the existing organizations. His No-Party League anticipated A. C. Townley's Non-Partisan League in North Dakota by two years.[64] However, it met with little success either. The First World War brought a degree of prosperity to western Canada after the recession of 1913. The G.G.G.C.

fortunes began to improve, undercutting Partridge's criticisms of the Company management. The patriotic solidarity of the grain growers' organizations completed this process. Partridge no longer possessed the power base of an organization to assist in spreading and implemeting his ideas.

IV

Partridge became involved in a number of crusades after the War, despite personal difficulties. Some of these concerns had been ongoing throughout his career, while others were the culmination of his developing political thought. They were all, unfortunately, now marked by the lack of organizational support that could have caused them to be realized in the ways Partridge would have preferred.

Immediately following the War, Partridge once more took a prominent role in agitation, this time for the reinstitution of the Wheat Board.[65] His criticisms again assumed a personal note, as he addressed an old adversary.

> Mr. Crerar fears that re-establishment of the Wheat Board would provide a precedent that might lead to the creation of other Boards till possibly the price of all the necessaries of life came under control. We greatly desire the restoration of proper relation between prices and cost of production, between prices and use values . . . .[66]

Partridge had promoted the Hudson Bay Railway throughout his career. Plans for an outlet from the western interior to Hudson Bay date from the earliest settlement. In Wolseley settlers had met to demand a Hudson Bay Railway the year after Partridge's arrival in the west.[67] By 1888 the Free Press announced that all financial arrangements

were complete for the building of the line.[68] The Fort Qu'Appelle Business Association unanimously adopted a resolution in November 1888 in support of the line, asking federal aid on behalf of the North-West Territories, as there was no provincial government to carry on the project.[69] The idea was of some duration when the T.G.G.A. was formed, and it passed resolutions at every convention after 1902 promoting the line.[70] At the 1909 Convention, support reached a peak, and a resolution thanked the Laurier government for its promise to construct the line, "equipping the same with government owned and operated terminal elevators . . . ."[71] In 1910 J. A. Maharg noted in passing the customary resolution that for years "he (Maharg) had been spreading the gospel of the Hudson's Bay Railway, and there was little new matter to submit . . . ."[72] Under Partridge's influence the concept of government ownership was central to succeeding resolutions.[73]

In 1910 Partridge presented the need for the line at the "Siege on Ottawa." Partridge proposed a company of western Canadians who would build, own and operate the line. With David Railton and T. W. Knowles, a committee was formed, and shares were sold. Many of the delegates to Ottawa signed up on the return trip. Applications expressed "our faith in the feasibility and desirability of the western people, with suitable government assistance, building and operating the road for themselves as a popular joint stock company . . . ."[74] Partridge had used the Grain Growers' Guide as a means of promoting such a line since 1908, when he commended government surveys toward that end.[75] Now, however, he was entering the business end directly,

as he had with the G.G.G.C. six years previously. As chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee he directed a campaign in 1911.[76] He warned that it was necessary for the public to own the line before the railway companies gained control of the route.[77] The idea was circulated as a series of pamphlets in 1911. Partridge pointed to western support for the plan for the road to be a public utility, and demanded "government operation or nothing."[78] He ridiculed the supposed physical and financial barriers, arguing that the Bay would be open for twelve months with modern icebreakers.[79] A People's Hudson's Bay Railway Company would "smash the tribute-levying powers of the great transcontinental roads."[80] It could help bring prosperity to the west, if built co-operatively, with government backing, before the railway companies did so.[81]

The Conservatives inherited the lagging Liberal project in 1911, and the S.G.G.A. called upon Borden "to immediately implement his pledges regarding this road."[82] When the Conservative government definitely undertook construction, the People's Railway scheme collapsed. Under C. A. Dunning's direction the Hudson Bay Railway was finally pushed through in 1931, the year of Partridge's death.[83]

V

The idea of a western party was of long standing in southern Saskatchewan by 1919. As early as 1887 the editor of the Qu'Appelle Vidette had called for "a western party" in the House of Commons. "If they work unitedly they may be better able to force the hand of the

House in many vital questions."[84] Similar proposals were presented by the Patrons of Industry. Partridge however, repeatedly stressed the necessity for non-partisan activism. In 1903 he wrote a lengthy letter to the Regina Standard on the theme that "partyism declines as intelligence advances."[85] In 1904 he recommended that the T.G.G.A. "actively participate in the selection of candidates and the formulation of the policies of their respective parties, that the agricultural class should be duly represented in Parliament no matter which party reigned at the capital."[86] Although he toyed with the idea of infiltration of parties, this was a concept he soon abandoned.[87]

The need "to find an alternative to the traditional party system" was widespread in the west at this time.[88] A supporter of the Direct Legislation League, Partridge, with J. E. Paynter and John Evans, campaigned for the I.R. and R. during 1912. The Liberal government was able to disarm this movement fairly easily, however.[89] At the 1913 S.G.G.A. Convention a resolution by David Ross calling the organization to enter politics directly was narrowly defeated.[90] After this vote, Partridge held a meeting at a neighbouring church to organize an alternative group. There Partridge started the No-Party League. Its purpose was "to organize for educational purposes leading to intelligent and effective political action to be taken by constituencies acting separately, as quickly as sufficient unanimity of opinion and purpose was developed in each, and not sooner."[91]

The most important concept in the No-Party League was embodied in Article I, Section 2, of its Constitution. Partridge pledged "to

avoid that centralization of power in a group of general officers which characterizes party organizations and makes them easy of control by influences that render them useless as instruments of popular government."[92] Its objectives were largely educational, aiming at the "rescue of the natural resources and public utilities from private control . . .." Article II, Section 6 answered criticisms of the Partridge Plan fairly directly.

> It maintains that the failure of government ownership and operation of public utilities, where ever such failure occurs, is due to the fact, that the government itself, which is the most important public utility of all, is not publicly owned and operated . . .[93]

To overcome these conditions initiation of I.R. and R., Taxation of Unimproved Lands, a Single Tax, and public ownership of utilities would be enacted.[94] He also called for a separate western nation in 1913, "breaking Canada in two at the Great Lakes, which I fear our people have neither the sense nor the digestive apparatus to do, and organizing the western half into a real country . . .."[95] He advocated the abolition of the provincial governments and substitution of a single legislative body to facilitate implementation of "progressive legislation."[96]

Although signatories of the Constitution later rose to positions of power as Progressive or C.C.F. members, the No-Party League lasted only a brief time. The Non-Partisan League was later destroyed in Saskatchewan by a Liberal-S.G.G.A. Coalition.[97] Also, Partridge was unable to fill the leadership role personally, because as a director of the G.G.G.C. he had to live in Winnipeg. This contributed to the early disappearance of the No-Party League.

In 1919 Partridge changed his tack on non-partisan politics. With the rise of the Progressive movement, and general acceptance of ideas he had been promoting for over a decade, Partridge entered the Assiniboia by-election of 1919 on behalf of Oliver R. Gould. W. R. Motherwell ran in the constituency as the Liberal candidate. The contest was obviously meant to be a bellwether of the rising new political force. N. P. Lambert, of the C.C.A., wrote to Crerar of Motherwell, "from present indications he will be pretty badly trimmed," but warned that the aftermath in other parts of the country "might not be by any means in the best interests of our movement as a whole."[99] Partridge and Kennedy campaigned energetically against Motherwell and are credited with his defeat. At this by-election the Progressive party was born under the aegis of the three former colleagues in the G.G.G.C., Crerar, Kennedy and Partridge.

On 3 November 1921 the federal nominating convention for the National Progressive Party was held in Wolseley. Partridge was one of twelve candidates, but was narrowly defeated by John Millar of Indian Head, the original secretary for the T.G.G.A.[100] Partridge entered the campaign promoting a wheat board, as opposed to Arthur Meighen's voluntary pool and Thomas Crerar's co-operatives.[101] On 8 September 1921, the Sintaluta Local of the S.G.G.A. appointed Partridge and C. E. Peach as a committee to investigate "the heavy and continuous slump in the price of wheat . . . ."[102] The Sintaluta Wheat Board Committee called for the immediate re-establishment of the Canadian Wheat Board under its former management "and with no

diminution of the ample powers conferred upon it . . . ."[103]

In 1921 there was little support for the Wheat Board. Partridge noted that most C.C.A. members were opposed, that the Grain Growers' Guide was silent on that issue. Crerar was opposed "for obvious reasons. His Company's dividends and his own salary would be adversely affected thereby." He insisted, however, that most common farmers wished its reintroduction, and warned Meighen that re-establishment "is a more vital issue to Western farmers than the tariff."[104] Although Partridge wished to represent the Progressive Party, he quickly became critical of Crerar's leadership. He asked whether "this Progressive movement now proposes to take on all the characteristics of a parliamentary party" and advised that the newly-elected members treat King "not as a political opponent to be harrassed and thwarted at every turn, but rather as the regularly elected Chairman of a Convention of two hundred and thirty-five delegates assembled to find solutions for grave national problems . . . ."[105] He accused Crerar of vocational self-interest, and showing vocational co-operation among farmers "to be neither better nor worse morally than the business activities of an oil trust . . . ."[106]

By November 1921 Partridge wrote that the Sintaluta "Wheat Board" Committee had "shot its bolt - meaning its financial resources." Its work, "imperfectly done for lack of funds, must halt."[107] By 1923 the Grain Growers' Guide declared the wheat board concept dead.[108] Partridge continued to compaign for the idea intermittently until 1926, however, when the Board was re-established."

Partridge could well have become a powerful spokesman for his causes if he had been elected as a Progressive in 1921. The Progressive Party dominated Saskatchewan between 1921 and 1925.[109] John Millar won by a large majority against E. E. Perley in the electoral district of Qu'Appelle, and maintained his seat until 1930, outlasting many of his Progressive colleagues.[110] Partridge would probably have maintained the seat as well, had he won the nomination.

In 1922 Partridge was touring Saskatchewan on speaking engagements with A. J. McPhail.[111] However, in that year he wrote to J. S. Woodsworth,

> I don't want to mislead you as to my standing and influence in the farmers' organizations. I am a 'has-been' . . . I am too radical to be welcome in the councils of the 'safe and sane' group who are generally in control of the administration of affairs and participate in conferences with governments, visible and invisible, as presumably representative of the real farmers' view-point.[112]

In 1924 when the Home Bank, which had supported the G.G.G.C. in its financially lean days, went bankrupt, Partridge conducted a campaign to induce the federal government to relieve the distress of shareholders who had suffered losses. Generally, however, he retired to Sintaluta to read and begin writing his utopian book, A War on Poverty. In 1911 due to deteriorating health he had moved back to his farm from Sintaluta, to live with his son Newton and his family.[113] His granddaughter recalled that "there came a knock at the door quite late at night, and there stood Grandfather and Grandmother, she dressed in her best and not pleased with Grandfather. 'We've come to say with you' Grandpa said, 'We're lonely.'"[114] There Partridge found a more

congenial family atmosphere.

During the 1920's Partridge became more closely connected to the "left wing" of Saskatchewan farm organizations.[115] His social gospel rhetoric assumed more extreme forms. In 1926 his book A War on Poverty was published at his own expense. Upset because the first edition had poor binding, he replaced many copies himself.[116] As Carl Berger notes "Standardization, uniformity and control are the central features of life in Partridge's utopia."[117] Although the details of life in Coalsamao may sound unappealing in some ways, the economic arguments made Partridge, dismissed by the establishment as a madman, a prairie hero in the tradition of Riel."[118]

Coalsamao was the name of Partridge's western utopia. Writing in the present tense, as though it already existed, Partridge described a "new autonomous political entity" lying between the Pacific Ocean and the Lakehead, and between the 49th and 60th parallels. Its name was derived from the first two letters of the constituent provinces, the "o" referring to a portion of western Ontario which would give Coalsamao access to the Great Lakes.[119] This new nation was to rise from extensive "local reconstruction," which involved "a tearing down, preliminary to a building up, and considerable temporary discomfort."[120] The people of Coalsamao would be required to sacrifice their personal ambitions for the greater good in some instances.

> In re-organizing a stratified and complex society on a simple and fairer plan there cannot be a perfect adjustment of each person's future to his or her deserts; nor can their aptitudes always be made to square with the occupations allotted, or the opportunities meted out among the adult population in attempting to assign to each some fitting useful part in the social economy.

Acknowledging that "ideal justice" to each citizen of Coalsamao was "impossible in any scheme of drastic social reorganization" Partridge felt that existing injustices were sufficiently widespread to justify the initiation of a "New Order."[121]

The difficulties involved in the process of local reconstruction necessitated a separate western nation.

> Canada, as a whole, is too big and too complex both economically and politically - has too much to undo before starting to do - to plan to take it as the unit in which to start the movement to realize a new social order. Such an attempt will require the political separation of the West from the East as part of the program.[122]

Looking to what in 1925 appeared to be the successful partition of Ireland, Partridge suggested that "If Ireland can be cut in two, surely Canada can be cut in three."[123] Eastern and Western Canada would thus be free of central Canadian "Financial Powers that in various roles, rule and rob the Canadian people under the law."[124]

Disenchanted with patriotic arguments, Partridge argued that the same spirit which animated the war effort should be applied to peaceful pursuits. "Our war affairs . . . were conducted largely along communal-co-operative lines, why not our peace affairs?" Poverty was the new enemy. He noted that "my very own two lads were asleep overseas and had no fear of him," and described the birth of Coalsamao in the post-war period of disenchantment with current systems.

> My mind still clings to the vision - no, the dream, or I would have striven for it with voice and pen - I had of our overseas forces returning to Canada by way of the Port of Nelson and effecting avid re-establishment through the successful planting of a great Co-operative colony, including in its membership many British comrades, in the unexploited hinterland of the three so-called Prairie Provinces, the

> resources of which, however unfairly, were still at the disposal of the Federal Government.[125]

The War on Poverty was thus to be carried on by veterans of the First World War, whom Partridge was inciting "to a new self-directed enlistment."[126] These men would form the cadres of an Army of the Common Good.[127] War Veterans' Associations would form the original nucleii for the local organization of Coalsamao "by reason of being non-vocational bodies with a pan-vocational membership . . . ."[128] The demobilization riots of 1918 and 1919 indicate problems "in reconciling sharp conflicts between the priorities of soldiers and of government planners."[129] Such problems might have suggested certain shortcomings in Partridge's view of the veterans' role in the foundation of Coalsamao. Their compliant re-enlistment in a new war was far from assured. Also, the illusion of prosperity still attended wartime and post-war agriculture. Wheat acreage almost doubled during the war years in the Prairie provinces, although scarce, highly paid labour removed the benefits of inflated prices.[130] Concerns in the post-war years were more along the lines established by prewar farmers' groups. Sweeping, revolutionary changes were not considered as acceptable alternatives by most farmers, especially following the collapse of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919.

Despite popular disenchantment with socialistic schemes for righting social wrongs, Partridge foresaw an invasion of British socialists to spearhead the new "war" effort.

> The rather desperate economic situation in Britain itself, with its malady of chronic un-employment for which there is no relief in sight, nor hope of permanent cure, held out, by

> defenders of the present economic system, suggest that British Socialists, visioning an unprecendentedly promising prospect of giving substance to their social ideals, might invade Western Canada in millions to secure the realization there of a Socialist State, a few years, perhaps two decades, earlier than it would be possible to bring it into being in the Home-land. This would obviously be vastly more stimulating to action than Socialism that only promises to materialize after the Socialist is in his grave.[131]

Unemployment and over-population promised to speed this end. Partridge also saw such leaders as Ramsay MacDonald, G. B. Shaw and the Webbs as taking a direct interest in directing the ideological development of Coalsamao.[132] The Webbs had visited Saskatchewan in 1911 and Beatrice Webb had praised "the comradeship of perpetual co-operation between settler and settler" to be found there.[133] Such interest obviously encouraged Partridge.

The "program of politico-socio-economic change" which would bring Coalsamao into being was characterized by thirteen points. Foremost was the necessity for western separation. The federal form of government would be replaced by "a single autonomous State, with a small, one-chambered House of Representatives," called a High Court of Control.[134] Coalsamao would thus become "One of a sisterhood of British States, each 'daughter in her mother's house but mistress in her own'." The nationalist rhetoric which characterized the Grain Growers' Guide during the war was thus transferred onto a regional stage. The third point called for the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

> . . . a State wherein production, distribution, and exchange, are all carried on, not to make individual gain for some, with loss to others which this entails, but to supply the needs of all through the activities of numbers of complete . . .

> circles of production, and a central governmental body that is really a general management of the citizens' socio-economic affairs . . . .[135]

Additional features of Coalsamao included abolition of the right to private ownership of natural resources, or of "land in all its forms." The repudiation of legal enforcement of private contracts was also advocated. Such contracts were described as "the obvious cause of debt - the accumulated load of which is smothering Society." The State would discontinue payments of interest on its debts; all payments would advance liquidation of the principal. "Communal Capital" would replace the private capitalist. Communal production would guarantee a growing machinery, "which things constitute the only real Capital beyond Knowledge . . .."

The State would eliminate unemployment through its role as "operator of public utilities, and, through its primary communal units of production . . ." This would be carried out rather ruthlessly, as Partridge concludes by warning that the State

> . . . where undue hesitancy was shown in embracing these (jobs) by those mentally and physically fit to 'do their bit' (would apply) compulsion in the negative form suggested by the rule "He that will not work, neither shall he eat.' . . . .

The educational system would stress practical, vocational training. Professionals would become "civil servants whose knowledge and skill are at the disposal of the State . . .." Coalsamao would recruit these from its educational system, based upon proficiency tests. The elimination of lawyers as a profession would follow the abolition of private property and contracts, as well as initiation of other

reforms. Coalsamao would issue its own currency, based upon national production rather than a gold standard. A pension system would aid any who could not benefit from the new system.[136]

The predominant feature of Coalsamao was standardization. "Standardization is carried to the greatest lengths both for the resultant economy of time and effort, and for the unifying effect the involved equality of treatment has upon the community."[137] Education played a key role in the move to standardization. It would have "very practical motives," teaching that "the State . . . was created to serve the people and not that the people might serve it, or some oligarchy in control of it . . ."[138] Nevertheless it is clear that much pressure would be exerted through state education to mold public opinion toward its own ends. Partridge describes education as "the Alpha and Omega of Social Evolution."[139]

The primary social unit in Coalsamao would be the "Camp," a sub-association with a population between 3500 and 7000. Each Camp would enjoy self-government. Problems which could not be solved by the Camp would be submitted to the High Court of Control, or one of twenty-five Regional Assemblies.[140]

A. W. Rasporich describes Coalsamao as "a far cry from the fervent Ruskinian ethics and Co-operative brotherhood which inspired (Partridge's) attacks on the corporate giants in 1905."[141] His successive failures in reforming society had by 1925 convinced Partridge of the necessity of a complete reorganization along socialistic lines. The Fabians, British Labour thinkers, and Russian Revolution provided

militant examples, which replaced the more amiable reformism of Ruskin. It was a view of the future which few would find acceptable however. His Co-operative Commonwealth had an effect upon the drafting of the Regina Manifesto, and, some contend, provided the name for the C.C.F. His letters from Victoria were dutifully read to the United Farmers' of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), and found some measure of support there in 1930 and 1931. However, Partridge would not live to see the increasing acceptance during the 1930's of radical proposals such as he suggested.

VI

Partridge was plagued by personal tragedy during his last years. When assessing the peripatetic nature of Partridge's career, this must be borne in mind. After suffering an amputation in 1907 and a reamputation in 1908 of his leg, his major political plan suffered severe setbacks between 1909 and 1912. His feud with Crerar was exhausting. In 1914 his daughter May drowned in a dugout on the Sintaluta farm. His older brother Henry died in January 1916. Henry Partridge had been a strong influence in Edward's early career, and they were very close. His son Grover was killed in France serving with the P.P.C.L.I. September 1916. In 1918 his son Harold was killed while serving with the R.F.C. in England, when a plane crashed onto his aircraft in a fog. His mother died in May 1921, and his wife Mary died suddenly of a heart attack on 2 May 1925. In 1927 his brother Newton died, and shortly therafter Partridge suffered a severe stroke.

Depression plagued his last days, and poor eyesight made reading or writing difficult. In 1927, accompanied by his daughter Enid, he retired to Victoria. Three years later he committed suicide by gassing himself in his boarding house. George Edwards recalled Partridge as "a lion in a cage with iron bars which he could not break."

> He was frustrated, which made him long for the time when these bars would be removed or broken, and in keeping with his tragic life and impatient nature he broke the bars himself, which separated him from the fuller life which he visualized.[142]

## Chapter Seven:

## CONCLUSION

The career and political thought of E. A. Partridge demonstrate the truth of Norman Penner's observation that the "alienation of the West began almost immediately after Confederation."[1] Following his arrival in the Qu'Appelle Valley, Partridge's political and social thought developed within a complex framework of local co-operative experimentation and broader agrarian reform movements. When Partridge outlined his plan for government-owned elevators in 1905, he was speaking as the recipient of a generation of agitation under Patron and Grain Growers' organizations. As each movement proved unsuccessful or limited, Partridge felt compelled to devise more inclusive forms of social and economic reorganization to accommodate his vision of a social order in which the primary producers, farmers and labourers, would receive the most just compensation for their efforts.

The first thirty-five years of E. A. Partridge's life are almost completely unknown. These years are reconstructed here in an effort to make Partridge's subsequent life more comprehensible. His pursuit of a teaching career was more sustained than is generally recognized, and had a significant influence upon his later views regarding the primary importance of education in the cause of agrarian protest and organization. The educational system of an independent western utopia would be described by Partridge as the crucial element

in that new society's evolution.

The successive stages in Partridge's career illustrate S. M. Lipset's thesis that ideological innovators were consistently replaced by more conservative bureaucrats and administrators in Saskatchewan's agrarian organizations. This process was facilitated by what Evelyn Eager terms "the conservatism of the Saskatchewan electorate," and occurred within the context of Vernon Fowke's thesis that the Canadian West developed within a colonial economic system, the workings of which were only minimally altered by western agrarian organizations. Repeated successes of federal and provincial Liberal parties in co-opting agrarian policies and leaders, such as T. A. Crerar and W. R. Motherwell, and the increasingly close liaison they formed with farmers' organizations, such as the S.G.G.A., reinforced the tendencies inherent within both Fowke's and Lipset's interpretations.

E. A. Partridge attempted to overcome the weaknesses inherent in farmers' organizations which evolved within this economic and political climate. His organization of a co-operative farmer-owned marketing agency, the Grain Growers' Grain Company, was seen as a preliminary stage in a more thorough social and economic reorganization. When these plans, generally referred to as the Partridge Plan between 1905 and 1910, were checked by the failure of the Plan in Manitoba, Partridge's influence began to wane. However, he continued in his attempts to establish nonpartisan organizations incorporating structural safeguards against the process of partisan co-option by federal parties. His No-Party League of 1913 was an example of such experiments.

The Square Deal Company was another experimental alternative to what he saw as an increasingly bureaucratic G.G.G.C., becoming more unresponsive to member farmers' best interests after 1909. When T. A. Crerar succeeded in forcing Partridge out of the G.G.G.C. in 1912, his influence became marginal as he was removed from direct influence upon that company's policy. The rise of Maharg and Musselman in the S.G.G.A. had ended his period of greatest influence in that organization. These events, coupled with the collapse of the Partridge Plan, signalled the end of Partridge's political effectiveness. His successful role in the "siege of Ottawa" ironically led to the destruction of the "farmers' platform" which he had helped pen, when the Laurier administration was defeated.

Successive failures in establishing class-based marketing agencies and political movements led Partridge to embrace the concept of a separate western Canadian nation free of colonial political and economic spheres of influence. Coalsamao was perhaps the inevitable culmination of his political thought, and the extreme elements within his socialistic utopia demonstrate his rejection of the Canadian federal system which he saw as unalterably opposed to western Canadian demands. Sustained instances of personal tragedy, and concerted resistance by established beneficiaries of the status quo, account for Partridge's erratic career as an agrarian organizer more than the usually accepted theory that he was intrinsically unsuited to the role of administrator. Given the overwhelming resistance within central Canadian political and business circles to the rise of western regional power, and the primary

importance of the National Policy to such group's interests, Partridge's numerous crusades, based as they were upon class and regional bases, were perhaps foredoomed. His basic problem was the divergence between stated and actual opinions held by the majority in central, and western, Canada. R. T. Naylor describes this rift as it developed after 1896.

> Big government, big business, and foreign investment, the holy trinity of Canadian political economy, were deplored in public and encouraged in private. Recurrent outbursts of populist antagonism to "the interests" alternated with fits of misdirected nationalist fervour directed against "American" conrol, but the facts of Canadian economic life remain obdurate. "The interests" remain in control . . .[2]

Ian MacPherson notes that significant changes were occurring within Canadian agrarian organizations by the end of Partridge's career. This was symbolized by the emergence of the Canadian Chamber of Agriculture in 1935.[3] Co-operative marketing was seen as ineffectual, and marketing boards were a more popular alternative.[4] W. R. Motherwell was the most important Liberal supporter of the new C.C.A.[5] The farmers' movement was becoming "limited in purpose, frankly economic in outlook, and pragmatic in its methods. The day of charismatic farm leaders was going, the rural philosophers were in eclipse, and the agrarian dream of a reformed world was fading."[6] Such dreams passed increasingly to the urban reformer.

J. M. S. Careless argues that "the true theme of the country's history in the twentieth century is not nation building but region building . . ." He sees the development of such "limited identities" as the basis of a distinctive Canadian experience "identifiable in

its very pluralism, constraints, and compromises."[7] By testing the boundaries of a federation in which regional and class relationships were being rapidly transformed, E. A. Partridge contributed significantly to western Canadian, and Canadian, national development. Between 1905 and 1912 his ideas were widely discussed, forming the basis for a delineation of the nature and direction of the Canadian nation. His experiences in such "boundary-testing" endeavors led Partridge to a rejection of Canadian federalism, and to call for the creation of a new nation in the west where farmers and labourers could live a utopian existence free of entangling legal, political and economic ties. He proposed his view of Coalsamao as a land of new beginning on the advent of what W. L. Morton terms the utopian phase of western Canadian history. His disillusionment, and his hopes, would be shared at certain fundamental levels by the adherents of such diverse regional movements as Social Credit and the C.C.F. The G.G.G.C. merged with other provincial organizations to form the United Grain Growers, and led western farmers to greater prosperity. Thus, Partridge's achievements were real and noteworthy. For many western Canadians, however, his major significance lies in its symbolism. He was the embodiment of the agrarian myth, a populist hero who is still venerated in Saskatchewan for the part he played in giving the western farmer a powerful voice in national councils, and for his legacy of agrarian ideals and organizations.

Abbreviations

AO: Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario

AOS: Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon & Regina, Saskatchewan

C.H.A.: Canadian Historical Association

C.H.R.: Canadian Historical Review

PAA: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta

PAC: Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

QUA: Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario

SCA: Simcoe County Archives, Barrie, Ontario

## Footnotes

Chapter One

[1]Charles Drury, Recording Steward, Dalston United Church, letter to writer, 16 February, 1977.

[2]A.F. Hunter, History of Simcoe County, Vol. II, p. 104.

[3]PAC, Upper Canada Land Petitions, RG1, L3, Vol. 404, Bundle P12/86.

[4]Ibid.

[5]A.F. Hunter, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 112.

[6]PAC, Upper Canada Land Petitions, RG1, L3, Vol. 404, Bundle P12/87.

[7]A.F. Hunter, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 51.

[8]Ibid., p. 51.

[9]G.C. Paterson, The County of Simcoe, p. 35.

[10]A.F. Hunter, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 107.

[11]G.C. Paterson, op. cit., p. 50.

[12]A.F. Hunter, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 65.

[13]Lot 17, Concession 1, Vespra Township; cf. A.F. Hunter, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 104.

[14]SCA, Assessment Records for Oro Township, 1871.

[15]SCA, Assessment Records for Vespra Township, 1871.

[16]AO, Vespra County Census Returns, 1861.

[17]Historical Committee, Oro Township, The Story of Ora, Oro Township, p. 128.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Lot 17, Concession 1, Oro Township.

[20]SCA, Land Patents Register, Oro Township.

[21]SCA, Assessment Records for Oro Township, 1871.

[22]Historical Committee, Oro Township, op. cit., Oro Township, p. 48.

[23]Charles Drury, letter to writer, 16 February, 1977.

[24]Ibid.

[25]David Gagan, "Land, Population and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West," C.H.R., Vol. LIX, No. 3, September 1978, p. 315.

[26]Barrie Northern Advance, 12 January, 1865.

[27]Ibid.

[28]R.D. Colquette, The First Fifty Years, p. 24.

[29]Barrie Northern Advance, 12 January, 1865.

[30]Barrie Northern Advance, 1 May, 1884

[31]Ibid.

[32]Su Murdoch, Assistant Archivist, Simcoe County Archives, letter to writer, 20 December, 1976.

[33]Hopkins Moorhouse, Deep Furrows, p. 109.

[34]Barrie Northern Advance, "William Henry Partridge Obituary," 17 November, 1904.

[35]PAC, Upper Canada State Papers, RG1, E3, Vol. 64, p. 22.

[36]PAC, Manuscript Group, 12, W.O. 13, Vol. 3713, p. 351.

[37]SCA, Assessment Records for Oro Township, 1871.

[38]Historical Committee, Oro Township, op. cit., p. 133.

[39]AOS, Regina, Department of Agriculture Records, Sintaluta Agricultural Society Records, file 1060.

Chapter Two

[1]Ralph Hedlin, "Edmund A. Partridge," Transactions. Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 1960, p. 59; G.F. Edwards, "Biography of E.A. (Ed) Partridge," AOS, Saskatoon, G.F. Edwards Papers, p. 1.

[2]Hopkins Moorhouse, Deep Furrows, pp. 61-62; R.D. Colquette, The First Fifty Years, p. 24.

[3]G.F. Edwards, op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

[5]Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, pp. 141-142.

[6]Ibid., p. 143.

[7]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 61.

[8]Ibid., p. 61.

[9]Ibid., p. 62.

[10]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 378-72.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 4 December, 1884.

[13]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 27 November, 1884.

[14]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 12 February, 1885.

[15]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 12 February, 1885.

[16]John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and its People, Vol. II, p. 748.

[17]Ibid., Vol. II, "The Big Bell Farm," pp. 743-748 passim.

[18]Douglas Hill, The Opening of the Canadian West, pp. 176-177.

[19]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 12 February, 1885.

[20]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 19 February, 1885.

[21]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 5 March, 1885

[22]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 14 January, 1886.

[23]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 5 March, 1885.

[24]ASO, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, "Statement concerning claim to the east half of Section 24, Township 17, Range 11," file 758-80.

[25]Ibid., appendix.

[26]Ibid.

[27]AOS, Regina, Department of Education Records, "Development of the Educational System in the North-West Territories," clippings file.

[28]Regina Leader, 1 March, 1883, p. 4.

[29]Regina Leader, 14 June, 1884, p. 4.

[30]Regina Leader, 12 July, 1883, p. 3.

[31]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 64.

[32]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[33]The name of the C.P.R. station at Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, and gathering point for teams used in the Transport Service.

[34]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 2 April, 1885.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Desmond Morton, Ministers and Generals, p. 76.

[37]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 21 May, 1885.

[38]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., p. 24.

[39]Jane Wendy McCracken, "Yorkton During the Territorial Period, 1882-1905," Saskatchewan History, Autumn, 1975, p. 48; Desmond Morton, Reginal Roy, eds. Telegrams of the North-West Campaign, 1885, lxvi.

[40]Desmond Morton, op. cit., p. 98.

[41]Belleville Daily Intelligencer, 8 May, 1885, cited in Nick and Helma Mika, The Riel Rebellion, 1885, p. 101.

[42]Desmond Morton and Reginald Roy, op. cit., p. 307.

[43]Desmond Morton, The Last War Drum, p. 98.

[44]Jane Wendy McCracken, op. cit., p. 49.

[45]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1886, Major T. Charles Watson, "Report of Major T. Charles Watson, Commanding Yorkton Company, on Organization of Company and erection of stockade at Yorkton," Vol. 5, pp. 61-63.

[46]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, "Major Charles Watson's statement," file 129096.

[47]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 75880.

[48]General Sir Frederick Middleton, Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885, p. 3.

[49]G.H. Needler, "Introduction," xvii, Middleton, op. cit.

[50]Middleton, op. cit., p. 12.

[51]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1886, Major T. Charles Watson, op. cit., p. 61.

[52]Ibid.

[53]PAC, RG8, British Military Records, "C" Series, Vol. 1848.

[54]Jane Wendy McCracken, op, cit., pp. 49-50.

[55]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1886, Major T. Charles Watson, op. cit., p. 62.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Jane Wendy McCracken, op. cit., p. 50.

[58]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1886, Major T. Charles Watson, op. cit., p. 62.

[59]Ibid.

[60]J.F. Reid and J. Wilbury.

[61]Jane Wendy McCracken, op. cit., p. 50.

[62]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1886, Major T. Charles Watson, op. cit., p. 63.

[63]Charles A. Boulton, Reminiscenses of the North-West Rebellions, p. 530.

[64]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, "Major Charles Watson's statement," file 129096.

[65]Jane Wendy McCracken, op. cit., p. 54.

[66]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[67]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit. 65.

[68]PAC, RG9, II, F7, Vol. 7, "Militia and Defense Accounts," C Forms for Yorkton Company Active Militia.

[69]PAC, RG15, Vol. 1632.

[70]PAC, RG15, Vol. 1636.

[71]AOS, Regina, Department of Education Records, School District Records, miscellaneous paper, Joseph Herperger, "E.A. Partridge," p. 1.

[72]Dr. D.S. Spafford, personal conversation, 22 September, 1976.

[73]Olive Sutherland, personal papers, account of E.A. Partridge.

[74]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 298400, statement dated August 1888 gives marital status as single. His first son was born late in 1889. Therefore, he seems to have been married sometime in late 1888.

[75]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, "Statement concerning claim . . . ," file 75880.

[76]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 298400.

[77]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 240015.

[78]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 65.

[79]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reporst 1885/86-1890/91, First Annual Report, 1886, p. 19.

[80]When the NWT was divided into six Protestant Districts on 11 March, 1885, Thomas Grover was appointed District Inspector for Western Assiniboia.

[81]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, First Annual Report, 1886.

[82]Ibid., Thomas Grover, "First annual report for Western Assiniboia School District," p. 17.

[83]Ibid., p. 28.

[84]Regina Leader, 8 January, 1889, p. 8.

[85]Thomas Grover, op. cit., p. 28.

[86]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1887.

[87]Ibid., "Questions Set at the Teachers' Examination, January 1887," pp. 24-48.

[88]Ibid., p. 8; Regina Leader, 21 April, 1887.

[89]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1887, p. 11.

[90]Ibid., p. 22.

[91]Familiarity with forty-three texts was recommended for that year, PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1886, pp. 12-17.

[92]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Records, Annual Report, 1888, p. 44; Qu'Appelle Vidette, 22 March, 1888.

[93]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, "Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1896," p. 81.

[94]Ibid., Annual Report, 1888, "Examination of Teachers, February, 1888," pp. 12-40.

[95]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 9 February, 1888.

[96]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 10 January, 1887.

[97]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1890, p. 3.

[98]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1991, p. 31.

[99]Regina Morning Leader, 26 January, 1916, p. 6, "Henry Oscar Partridge obituary."

[100]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1888, p. 84.

[101]Ibid., p. 90.

[102]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1890, p. 92 and 108.

[103]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1888, p. 95.

[104]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1889, pp. 3-9.

[105]PAA, North-West Territories Board of Education Reports, Annual Report, 1890, p. 65.

[106]The Western Producer, 3 August, 1972.

[107]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., pp. 63-65.

[108]Encyclopedia Canadiana, s.v. "Partridge, Edward Alexander," W.L. Morton.

[109]Saskatchewan Agricultural Hall of Fame, U.G.G. nomination of E.A. Partridge, 1972.

[110]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 241023.

[111]AOS, Saskatoon, Homestead Records, file 240015.

[112]AOS, Regina, Local Histories -- Sintaluta, clipping from Wolseley News, 20 December, 1950, interview with Tom Partridge.

[113]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 29 March, 1888.

[114]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 15 April, 1886.

[115]James F.C. Wright, Saskatchewan: The History of a Province, p. 99.

[116]Louis Aubery Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, pp. 123-132; W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 258

[117]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., p. 12.

[118]AOS, Saskatoon, Pamphlet Collection, "The Grange File," G 235.1, James M. Douglas, "To the Electors of Eastern Assiniboia," pp. 2-3.

[119]Ibid., p. 2.

[120]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[121]AOS, Saskatoon, Pamphlet Collection, "The Grange File, G 235.1, "The Political Position of the Patrons," p. 2.

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[4]Brian R. McCutcheon, "The Birth of Agrarianism in the Prairie West," Prairie Forum, Vol. 1, No. 2, (November 1976), passim.

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[8]John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, "Saskatchewan: Parties in a Politically Competitive Province," Martin Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, second edition, p. 284.

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[15]W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 210.

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[20]Ibid., p. 79.

[21]Canada, Sessional Papers, 1885, No. 13, p.x.; quoted in A.N. Lalonde "Colonization Companies in the 1880's," Saskatchewan History, Autumn, 1971.

[22]L.A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, p. 123.

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[25]Paul W. Fox, "Regionalism and Confederation," Regionalism in the Canadian Community 1867-1967, Mason Wade, ed., p. 5.

[26]Ramsay Cook, "Quebec, Ontario and the Nation," Canada and the French Canadian Question, pp. 26-42.

[27]Paul W. Fox, op. cit., p. 6.

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[29]Brother of the Toronto Globe editor John Cameron, 1882-1890, and later Queen's Printer and Accountant to Ontario Legislature.

[30]Nor'West Farmer and Home Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.

[31]Nor'West Farmer and Home Journal, January, 1883.

[32]L.K. Cameron, Editorial, Nor'West Farmer and Manitoba Miller, December, 1884.

[33]P.F.W. Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," C.H.R., Vol. LVI, No. 2, (June 1975), p. 182.

[34]Vernon C. Fowke, Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern, p. 272; however this is certainly not true following the turn-of-the-century.

[35]Ian MacPherson, "The Co-operative Movement on the Prairies, 1900-1955," C.H.A. Historical Booklet no. 33, p. 7.

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[37]Vernon C. Fowke, op. cit., pp. 231-233.

[38]L.H. Thomas, "A History of Agriculture on the Prairies to 1914," Prairie Forum, Vol. 1, No. 1, (April 1976), p. 41; Allan R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell: The emergence of a Farm Leader," Saskatchewan History, Vol. XI, No. 3, (Autumn 1958), pp. 95-96.

[39]H.A. Innis, The Diary of Alexander James McPhail, p. 15.

[40]L.A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, p. 125.

[41]John A. Archer, Saskatchewan: A History, p. 122.

[42]L.A. Wood, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

[43]H.S. Patton, Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada, p. 43.

[44]Secretary of Grand Association after 1892.

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[46]Eugene A. Forsey, "Unions and Co-operatives," The Canadians 1867-1967, eds., J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown, pp. 490-491.

[47]C.H. Mackintosh to Sir John Thompson, 7 February, 1894; quoted in L.H. Thomas, The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North West Territories 1870-97, p. 235.

[48]W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, p. 383.

[49]J.M. Beck, Pendulum of Power, p. 80.

[50]L.A. Wood, op. cit., pp. 126-128.

[51]W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, p. 10.

[52]H.S. Patton, op. cit., pp. 376-377.

[53]V.C. Fowke, Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern, p. 272.

[54]Ibid., pp. 261-265.

[55]The failed "seige of Ottawa" in 1910, where Partridge articulated western support for free trade before the eastern press and federal cabinet, exemplifies the continuity of this trend.

[56]W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 258.

[57]This is credited with causing the bulk of western grain to be upgraded to No. 1 Manitoba Hard.

[58]Gilbert Johnson, "James Moffat Douglas," Saskatchewan History, Vol. VII, (1954), pp. 47-50.

[59]Manoly R. Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905, pp. 121-140.

[60]Qu'Appelle Vidette, 21 May, 1896

[61]Hall Commission, Grain and Rail in Western Canada Vol. 1, 1977, pp. 39.

[62]W.C. Clark, The Country Elevator in The Canadian West, pp. 4-6.

[63]C.F. Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 14.

[64]Report of the Royal Commission on Shipment and Transportation of Grain, 1900, pp. 5-8.

[65]J.F. Booth, Cooperative Marketing of Grain in Western Canada, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. 63, January, 1928, p. 6.

[66]P. Crampton, "Early Days in the Carrot River Valley," AOS, Saskatoon; quoted in D.H. Bocking, Saskatchewan: A Pictorial History, p. 47.

[67]W.C. Clark, op. cit., p. 2.

[68]Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1898, p. 2067.

[69]Ibid., pp. 2061-2062; Winnipeg Tribute, 14 September, 1897.

[70]Ibid., p. 2060; citing Manitoba Premier's estimate.

[71]R.D. Colquette, The First Fifty Years, p. 12.

[72]Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1898, p. 2062.

[73]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., p. 12.

[74]L.A. Wood, op. cit., pp. 159-160; R.D. Colquette, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

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[76]H.S. Patton, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[77]Canada, Sessional Papers, Nos. 81-81b: Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Shipment and Transportation of Grain, 1900, p. 3.

[78]Ibid., p. 8.

[79]H.S. Patton, op. cit., p. 24.

[80]Ibid., p. 25 and 30.

[81]Ibid., pp. 23-30; L.A. Wood, op. cit., pp. 166-169.

[82]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., p. 14.

[83]U.G.G., Across Fifty Years, p. 4

[84]Hugh Boyd, New Breaking, p. 24.

[85]Canada, Sessional Papers, Nos. 81-81a: Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Shipment and Transportation of Grain, 1900, p. 9.

[86]Hugh Boyd, op. cit., p. 25.

[87]W. Kaye Lamb, History of the Canadian Pacific Railway, p. 262.

[88]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., p. 14.

[89]T.D. Regehr, Remembering Saskatchewan, p. 58.

[90]R.D. Colquette, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

[91]M.R. Lupul, op. cit., pp. 43, 68 and 76.

[92]Allan R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell: The Emergence of a Farm Leader," Saskatchewan History, Vol. XI, No. 3, (Autumn 1958), pp. 97-98.

[93]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[94]E.A. Partridge, "The Qu'Appelle Convention," Regina Leader, 26 November, 1896.

[95]The Vidette (Fort Qu'Appelle), 19 November, 1896, quoted in Allan R. Turner, op. cit., p. 99.

[96]E.A. Partirdge, op. cit.

[97]The Vidette, 19 November, 1896, quoted in Allan R. Turner, op. cit., p. 99.

[98]Allan R. Turner, op. cit., p. 100.

[99]Patrons Advocate, 13 February, 1895, quoted in J.M. Douglas, "The Agrarian Movement in the 1890's," Saskatchewan History, Vol. VII, pp. 51-55.

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[101]R.C. Brown, and R. Cook, Canada 1896-1921 A National Transformed, pp. 18-25.

[102]Paul Stevens, "Laurier and National Unity," J.M. Bumsted, ed., Documentary Problems in Canadian History, Vol. II, p. 1.

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[4]Edgar McInnis, Canada A Political and Social History, p. 441.

[5]D.J. Hall, "Tha Manitoba Grain Act: An 'Agrarian Magna Charta'?", Prairie Forum, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Spring 1979), pp. 105-120.

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[7]S.D. Clark, Movements of Political Protest in Canada 1640-1840, pp. 502-503.

[8]Hopkins Moorhouse, Deep Furrows, pp. 19-48.

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[10]Ralph Hedlin, "Edmund A. Partridge," Transactions. Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 1960, p. 60.

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[12]Ibid., -. 109.

[13]Hugh Boyd, New Breaking, p. 26.

[14]W.R. Motherwell, op. cit., p. 109.

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[17]Nor'West Farmer, 5 January, 1902.

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[19]Manitoba Grain Act, Sec. 58, Sub-sec. 2.

[20]D.J. Hall, op. cit., p. 116.

[21]Nelson O. Stueck, North of the Qu'Appelle, p. 37.

[22]Nor'West Farmer, December, 1902.

[23]Nor'West Farmer, 4 December, 1902.

[24]W.R. Motherwell, op. cit., p. 110.

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[26]T.G.G.A. Annual Report, 1902.

[27]Ibid.

[28]W.R. Motherwell, op. cit., p. 110.

[29]Hugh Boyd, op. cit., p. 34.

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[31]Hugh Boyd, op. cit., p. 34.

[32]L.A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, p. 180.

[33]W.R. Motherwell, op. cit., p. 111.

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[35]"King vs. Benoit," Territorial Law Reports, Vol. V, pp. 442-457.

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[39]A.N. Reid, "Local Government in the North-West Territories: I. A Study of the Beginnings of Rural Local Government, 1883-1905," Saskatchewan History, Vol. II, No. 1, (January, 1949), p. 1.

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[44]Regina Morning Leader, 26 January, 1916, p. 6, "obituary."

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[47]Elizabeth E. Webster, "Recollections and Reminiscences: Balcarres Recollections," Saskatchewan History, Vol. X, (1957), p. 29.

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[53]Ibid., Deputy Commissioner to H.O. Partridge, 26 August, 1903.

[54]North-West Territories, Societies Ordinance, Section 3, clause 1.

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[59]John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, 1942-1949; Manitoba Premier, 1922-1943.

[60]AOS, Regina, Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture Records, Sintaluta Agricultural Society Records, file 1060.

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[12]L.A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, p. 184.

[13]Hopkins Moorhouse, Deep Furrows, p. 81.

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[21]Ibid., p. 9

[22]Donald F. Warner, "The Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union," Agricultural History, Vol. 23, No. 1, (January 1949), p. 19.

[23]AOS, Saskatoon, S.G.G.A. Reports, op. cit., p. 9.

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[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., pp. 9 to 14.

[27]Ibid., p. 15.

[28]T.G.G.A., Annual Report, 1905; Farm and Ranch Review, February. 1905.

[29]The T.G.G.A. became the S.G.G.A. in 1905, following the creation of the province of Saskatchewan.

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[34]Cliff Faulknor, Pen and Plow, p. 53.

[35]E.A. Partridge, "Co-operation And Its Adaptation to Our Circumstances," 1 March, 1905, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169, p. 6.

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[56]H.V. Nelles, "Public Ownership of Electrical Utilities in Manitoba and Ontario, 1906-30," C.H.R., Vol. LVII, No. 4, (December 1976), pp. 461-484.

[57]S.M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 62.

[58]C.F. Wilson, op. cit., p. 50.

[59]Hokins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 88; David Railton's grand daughter claims it was held at Weston's hardware store.

[60]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 88.

[61]Ibid., p. 300.

[62]The original resolution is now located in the Crerar Papers, Queen's University Archives.

[63]Jean Margaret Crowe, "Prejudice Is Always Waiting To Be Born," Legion (July 1977), p. 11; Jean Crowe is David Railton's grand daughter.

[64]W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 20.

[65]QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169, Sintaluta Resolution, 27 January, 1906; Moved by W.J. Bonner, seconded by A.J. Quigley.

[66]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[67]Ibid., p. 2.

[68]Ibid., p. 3.

[69]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 300.

[70]Ralph Hedlin, op. cit., p. 61.

[71]Ibid., p. 62.

[72]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 90.

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[74]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 91.

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[76]W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 21; Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., pp. 94-96.

[77]Vidette, 18 July, 1906, p. 1.

[78]G.G.G.C, "Circular," 1 September, 1906, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169.

[79]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 97.

[80]Ibid., p. 300.

[81]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[82]Ibid., p. 300.

[83]These were David Railton, Al Quigley, Thomas McLeod, Jim Ewart, and William Hall.

[84]QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 112, E.A. Partridge to James Bonner, 12 September, 1906.

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[86]AOS, Saskatoon, S.G.G.A. Reports, B2 I 3, "Convention Reports, 1902-1926," Fifth Annual Convention February 6, 1906, pp. 20-25.

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[89]E.A. Partridge, "Shall the People of the West Co-operate So as to Buy Together and for Cash?" QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169, n.d. [c1906].

[90]E.A. Partridge, G.G.G.C. Circular, 5 September, 1906, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 11.

[91]Ibid.

[92]C.F. Wilson, op. cit., p. 50.

[93]E.A. Partridge to T.A. Crerar, 20 September, 1906, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 11; although Partridge had originally suggested a limit of four shares per shareholder, a greater number was actually permitted.

[94]PAC, R.G. 33/5, Vol. 3, Royal Commission on the Grain Trade of Canada, Testimony, E.A. Partridge, p. 4263.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid., p. 4264.

[97]Ibid., p. 4272.

[98]Ibid., p. 4273.

[99]Ibid., p. 4265.

[100]Ibid., p. 4266.

[101]Ibid., p. 4267.

[102]Who's Who In Western Canada, Vol. I, (1911), p. 111.

[103]E.A. Partridge, Prospectus of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, [1907], QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169, p. 11.

[104]AOS, Saskatoon, S.G.G.A. Records, B2 I 3, "Convention Reports, 1902-1926," Fifth Annual Convention February 6, 1906, p. 35.

[105]Ibid., pp. 4-5; Regina Leader, 15 December, 1905.

[106]E.A. Partridge, Prospectus of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, 1907, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 169, p. 10.

[107]Board of Directors, G.G.G.C., to Hon. R.P. Roblin, 20 December, 1906, QUA, T.A. Crarar Papers, Box 110, p. 10.

[108]Ibid., p. 1.

[109]Vidette, 2 January, 1907.

[110]Board of Directors, G.G.G.C., to Hon. R.P. Roblin, 20 December, 1906, QUA, T.A. Crerar Papers, Box 110, p. 6.

[111]Vidette, 19 September, 1906.

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[116]Hugh Boyd, op. cit., p. 50.

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[118]W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 288.

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[120]C.F. Wilson, op. cit., p. 51.

[121]Hopkins Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 105; C.F. Wilson, op. cit., p. 51.

[122]Free Press, 2-17 April, 1906.

[123]W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 289.

[124]Cecil Lamont, Prairie Sentinels, p. 35.

[125]W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 32.

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AOS Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon and Regina, Saskatchewan.

PAA Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

PAC Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

QUA Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.

SCA Simcoe County Archives, Barrie, Ontario.

## I

## Archives and Libraries

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PAC, R. G. 15, Department of the Interior Records.

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QUA, Douglas Library. T. A. Crerar Papers.

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SCA, Assessment Records for Oro Township, 1871.

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